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THE MARTIAL ANNALS OF THE CITY OF YORK

Cæsar Lajine.

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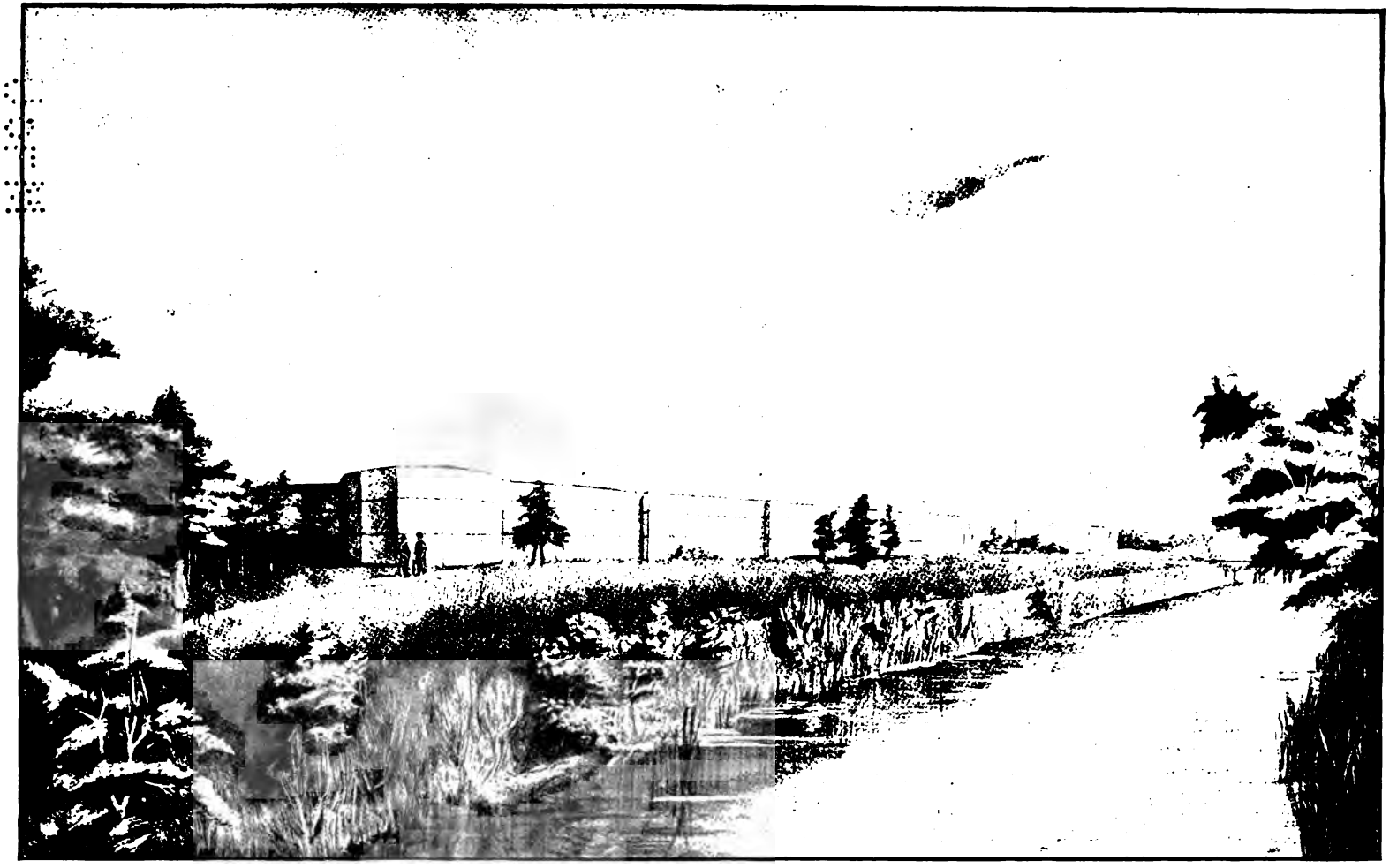

EBURACUM, A.D. 100.

THE

MARTIAL ANNALS

OF THE

CITY OF YORK.

BY THE REV. CÆSAR CAINE, F.R.G.S.,

FORMERLY A.C. TO H.M. TROOPS, YORK GARRISON.

PUBLISHED WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE MAJOR-GENERAL COMMANDING THE NORTH-EASTERN MILITARY DISTRICT.

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CONTENTS.

PART		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
I.	THE ROMAN PERIOD, 50—426	1
II.	THE SAXON AND DANISH PERIOD, 426—1066	35
III.	THE NORMAN PERIOD, 1066—1154	53
IV.	THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD, 1154—1399	84
V.	THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD, 1399—1461	108
VI.	THE YORKIST PERIOD, 1461—1485	120
VII.	THE TUDOR PERIOD, 1485—1603	128
VIII.	THE STUART PERIOD, 1603—1714	141
IX.	THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD, FROM 1714	203
	INDEX	281

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.—Reproductions of Photographs or Paintings (separate Plates).

		Opp. page
1.	Eburacum, A.D. 100	*Frontispiece*
2.	The Multangular Tower	7
3.	A Martial Statue	31
4.	St. Mary's Abbey	39
5.	Stamford Bridge	43
6.	Clifford's Tower and the Old Baile	55
7.	Micklegate Bar	90
8.	Monk Bar	126
9.	Fishergate Bar	129
10.	The Red Tower	131
11.	The King's Manor	142
12.	St. Mary's Tower	160
13.	High Land above Marston Moor	166
14.	Marston Moor	171
15.	The Knight's Farewell	181
16.	Walmgate Bar	196
17.	Bonnie Prince Charlie	203
18.	Colonel Norcliffe Dalton	243
19.	Bootham Bar	251
20.	Fishergate Postern	254

II.—Illustrations (chiefly Engravings), principally in the Letterpress.

1.	Plan of Eburacum and Modern York	3
2.	Plan of the Multangular Tower	8
3.	Hadrian	12
4.	Severus	*ib.*

5. Constantius 14
6. Constantine 15
7. A Monumental Stone . . . 21
8. Altar to Neptune 24
9. Roman Soldiers on the Ouse Banks 33
10. Harold II 43
11. Plan of the Battle of Stamford Bridge . . 44
12. Plan of the Castles at York . . 55
13. Plan of the Keep of Castle at York . . 58
14. A Knight Templar 76
15. A Knight Templar (in undress) . . 96
16. York Minster . . 103
17. Ancient Arrow . . . 122
18. Cloister of the Hospital of St. Leonard . 123
19. Cloister of the Hospital of St. Leonard . . *ib.*
20. Fishergate Bar, prior to 1827 . . . 133
21. Early Spur 137
22. Spur (13th cent.) 138
23. Spur (Henry V) . . . . *ib.*
24. Spur (Henry VIII) 139
25. Sir John Hotham 146
26. St. William's College 147
27. Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax . . . 157
28. Map, illustrating the movements of Prince Rupert . 163
29. Plan of the Battle of Marston Moor . . 167
30. Cottage on Marston Moor . . . 177
31. The City and its Minster . . . 195
32. The Press-gang 240
33. Micklegate Bar, with Barbican . . . 253
34. Infantry Barracks 262
35. Plan of Strensall Camp . . . 267
36. Cannon on the Blue Bridge . . . 277

III.—Occasional Tail-pieces to Chapters.

1. Roman Helmets 16
2. The Templars' First Headquarters . . 81
3. Signature of Oliver Cromwell . . . 182
4. Signature of the "Young Pretender" . . 236

PREFACE.

THOUGH not claiming to be an exhaustive treatment of the subject, these chapters cover the whole period from the times of the Romans to the present day, and are divided into nine sections corresponding to the great epochs of English history. An effort has been made to avoid giving a merely antiquarian character to the book, and to make it as far as possible, without wholly obliterating its antiquarian worth, suitable for popular reading. How far I have succeeded in blending these two elements, I must let others decide.

Though York has fallen behind other cities and towns in commercial enterprise, it possesses a history hoary with antiquity, and pre-eminently interesting as a study of the progress of the civilisation of our land. A native of York,[1] in olden days, proudly sang:

> "This city first by Roman hand was form'd,
> With lofty towers and high-built walls adorn'd;
> It gave their leaders a secure repose,
> Honour to th' empire, terror to their foes."

[1] Alcuin.

The site of York lacked nothing that was needed to attract to it the ancient conquerors of our country. Its central position in Britain, the conjunction of two rivers which readily lent themselves to the purposes of defence, its easy access to the sea, and the fertility of the surrounding plain, were a few of many advantages which no other place in the country, perhaps, possessed in an equal measure. Eburacum or York, in Roman days, was the capital of Britain. London was the great seat of commerce even then ; but the northern city was the principal garrison, and consequently the seat of imperial rule. York, and York alone, of all the cities of Britain, can boast of having been the dwelling-place of the Cæsars of Rome!

From Roman days to the present, York has been a great military centre, and, as such, merits a separate history. In the following pages I have given some account of the military persons, forces, sieges, battles, revolts, etc., associated with this enchanting old city. The various changes which have passed over the defences of the city are also generally described. Those who desire further architectural details as to these fortifications, I would refer to the *Fortifications of York*, by Lockwood and Cates.

There are one or two matters about which it may be well to say a few preliminary words here. In speaking of the Roman city, I have used the older form of its name—Eburacum. This form, according to Dr. Hübner, was in use down to the time of Severus, when probably, through Greek influence, it was shortened in sound to Eboracum. This latter form has prevailed ever since, and is, in fact, the accepted form, and is in constant use with reference to the See of York.

On page 22, after stating that the fate of the Ninth Legion of the Roman army is *not known*, I give the details of a theory concerning these men. My authority for making these remarks is Camden (Gibson's edition, vol. ii, p. 98). Canon James Raine, M.A., D.C.L., does not agree with this opinion in the least. His is the last authoritative word on this subject, and he says: " Why do we not find it (the Ninth Legion) on what we may term the roll-call of the Legions? I have sometimes thought that the Ninth may have shown cowardice in battle, and on that account may not have been reckoned for the future among the effective troops. The remnant may have been confined to the camp, acting as hewers of wood and drawers of water."[1]

The object which, above everything else in the city, arrests the attention, is one which occupies but little space in these chapters, for it is only incidentally connected with our subject—the Minster. Its preservation is simply marvellous, especially considering the risks to which it was exposed in the great siege in the seventeenth century. There can be no doubt that the escape of this sacred building from serious injury at this time was due to Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, who did his utmost to prevent firing into that part of the city where the Minster stands. It is also said that after the capitulation he placed a guard around the building, ordering that the penalty of death should be executed upon anyone wilfully damaging the fabric.

The castles of York, of course, occupy a prominent place in these pages. The keeps of these strongholds occupied

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[1] Raine, *Historic Towns: York*, p. 12.

lofty artificial mounds, according to Norman usage. Possibly the mounds of the castle keeps at York were originally Roman work—afterwards *utilised* by the Norman builders. Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, a celebrated architect, was the first to erect these castle keeps without elevation of the site. A specimen of his work may be seen in the keep of Rochester Castle, and in the keep (the White Tower) of the Tower of London.

A word respecting the Bars of the city. One of these—Micklegate—was pronounced by Drake and the Earl of Burlington to be largely Roman work. This theory was opposed by Sir Henry C. Englefield[1] and others, and has been abandoned. It is possible that there is Roman work in the Bar at Bootham.

Some of the engravings illustrating this work have been produced by special permission. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Sir William Smith, LL.D., and Mr. John Murray, publisher, for the coin portraits of Hadrian, Severus, Constantius, and Constantine (pp. 12, 14, 15); to the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for the plan of the Multangular Tower (p. 8), and permission to take several photographs in their grounds and Museum; to the Council of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries for the engraving of the Roman altar to Neptune (p. 24); and to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for the engraving of the ancient spur (p. 138), and the *facsimile* of the signature of the "Young Pretender" (p. 236). I also present my thanks to Ernest Crofts, Esq., A.R.A., for permission to reproduce the paintings, "Marston

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. vi, p. 105.

Moor" (p. 171) and "The Knights' Farewell" (p. 181); also to the Executors of the late J. Pettie, Esq., R.A., for the same favour granted with respect to the painting, "Bonnie Prince Charlie" (p. 203). The other illustrations are produced chiefly from my own negatives and sketches. I am indebted to Mr. W. Monkhouse for the use of three negatives, and to Rev. J. T. F. Halligey and Mr. George Cussons for the use of one negative each.

CÆSAR CAINE.

LONDON, *Easter*, 1893.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Brigantia and the Brigantes.—Agricola founds Eburacum.—Its Extent.—The Walls.—Another Theory.—The Multangular Tower.

OF York, as of the whole of Britain, nothing thoroughly authentic is known prior to Roman times.

In the Celtic period, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham formed the kingdom of Brigantia, having for its capital Isurium, a site occupied by the modern Aldborough, near Boroughbridge. Of all the tribes of Britain, perhaps the Brigantes offered the stoutest resistance to Roman arms. Ostorius Scapula (A.D. 50-53), Avitus Didius Gallus (A.D. 53-57), and Petilius Cerialis (A.D. 70-75) tried to effect the conquest of these people, or were engaged in holding them in check. Julius Agricola (A.D. 78-84), to whom is awarded the honour of constituting Britain a Roman province, at

last compelled them to acknowledge that the Romans were their masters.

This brave and sagacious commander and statesman founded, on a site embraced within the modern York, a military camp. Doubtless the position was previously occupied by a Celtic settlement—a city of rude and primitive construction. Strabo, the ancient geographer and historian, speaking of the Britons, says: "Forests are their cities; for, having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, they make themselves huts therein, and lodge their cattle."

A general idea of the position and extent of Eburacum (such was the name the Romans gave their settlement) may be attained, with great facility, by employing present well-known streets and objects as landmarks. Petergate, from Bootham Bar to Goodramgate, indicates roughly the direction and extent of the central street of the original Roman camp, which lay on the right as far as Coney Street, within a hundred yards of the river, and on the left as far as the wall adjoining Monk Bar.[1]

It is believed that the earthworks of this station were superseded by stone walls and fortifications by Agricola.[2]

The present walls on the north-west mark the line of the defences of the Roman camp on that side. The north-west gate occupied a site almost identical with the present Bootham Bar. It is interesting to

---

[1] See Wellbeloved's *Eburacum.*

[2] Lockwood and Cates (*Fortifications of York*) doubt this.

learn that some time ago the foundations of this gateway were laid bare, also portions of the adjacent walls and their towers.

The Commander's headquarters (the Prætorium)

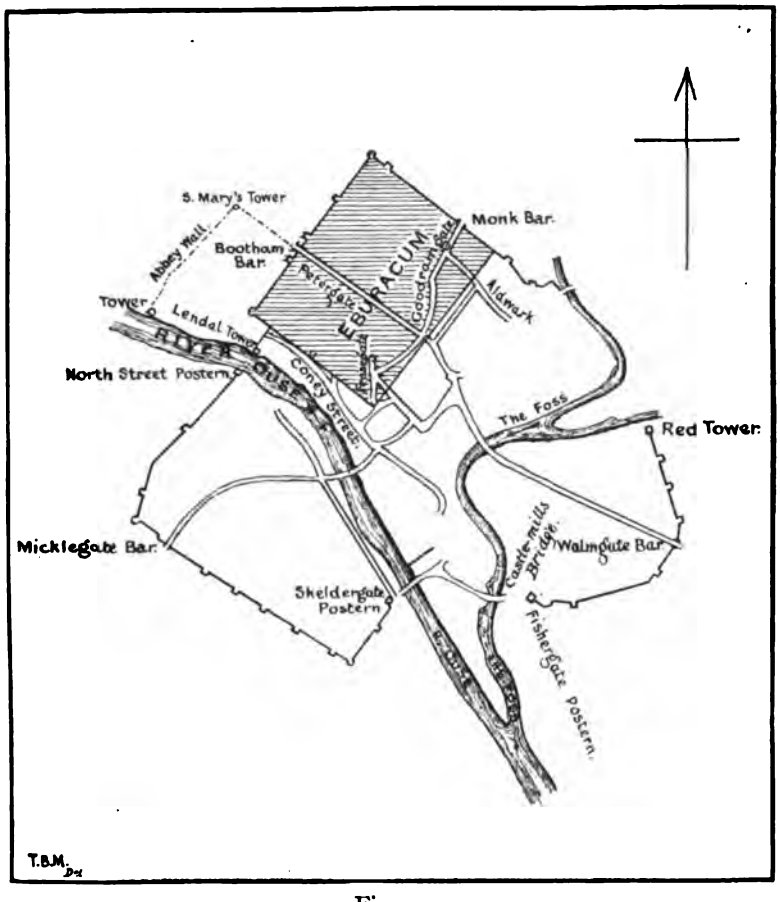

Fig. 1.

stood at the opposite side of the encampment, not far from the present junction of Petergate and Goodramgate. Bedern and its vicinity have been accepted

as the site of this building. On this side, also, there was a wall and a gate, corresponding to those on the north-west. Traces of these defences have been discovered running from Coney Street across Feasegate towards Aldwark and the Monkgate walls.

The walls have also been traced on the side contiguous to the river—the south-west, but not on the opposite flank—the north-east.[1] On each of these sides also there was a gate.

Wellbeloved, the antiquary, following General Roy (*Military Antiquities of the Romans in Great Britain*), has called, in his *Eburacum*, the north-west gate of the Roman fortifications (where Bootham Bar now stands) the Prætorian Gate, and the south-east gate the Decuman Gate. Generally, however, the gate near the Prætorium bears the corresponding name, and the gate further removed from the Prætorium is called the Decuman Gate (see Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, article "Castra".) Wellbeloved, in a footnote, leaves this matter an open question.[2]

This general situation and extent of Eburacum, ascertained by excavating and surveying, correspond

[1] It must be remembered that all the present walls are of *comparatively* recent date.

[2] Some historians who, in the main, agree with the above theory as to the situation of Eburacum, differ from it in two particulars: (1) They carry the camp as far as the Foss on the south-east. (2) They place the Prætorium Gate on the wall, the direction of which is now indicated by Coney Street, and the Decuman Gate near where Monk Bar now stands.

to the descriptions given of the arrangement and dimensions of Roman camps by Polybius, Titus Livius, Vegetius, Justus Lipsius, and other ancient authors.

All the Roman defences have perished, with the exception of one small fragment, enclosed within the grounds of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, the well-known Multangular Tower and the contiguous walls. This tower formed the west angle of the fortifications, and is perhaps the most notable and interesting relic of those early days of York.

One of the best descriptions of this tower appears in *The Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, in an address by G. T. Clark, Esq., on "The Defences of York". This account reads: "It is a shell of masonry, presenting nine faces, 45 feet in exterior diameter, and 24 feet wide at the gorge which is open. It is not placed, as in mediæval works, so as merely to cap the junction of the two walls, which would have met at a right angle, but the whole angle is superseded, as in Roman camps, by a curve of about 50 feet radius, and the tower stands in the centre of this curve, three-quarters of it, presenting its nine faces, being disengaged. The tower, and its contiguous wall, are 5 feet thick. The Roman part of the work is about 15 feet high. It is of rubble, faced on either front with ashlar, the blocks being from 4 to 5 inches cube. There is one band of five courses of bricks, each brick 17 inches by 11 by 2½ inches, that may be traced along both tower and wall, although the surface of both has been much

patched and injured. Upon the Roman work has been placed an ashlar upper story, composed of larger stones, and about 3 feet thick and 12 feet high, pierced by nine cruciform loops, one on each face, and each set in a pointed recess. This addition is of Early English or early Decorated date. The wall extending south-east from the tower for 53 yards is of the same date, material, and workmanship. Both having escaped destruction in the post-Roman period, were incorporated into the defences of the later city. The wall on the other side of the tower has been partially destroyed, and at a short distance becomes buried in the later bank. It is to be observed that the Roman tower and wall, where perfect, are entirely unconnected with any bank of earth, and the ashlar facing, both inside and outside, shows this to have been originally intended. The wall stands on the natural surface of the ground, and is seen of equal height on either face. There may have been, and no doubt was, an exterior ditch even in Roman times, but a bank of earth sustaining the wall, it is pretty clear, there was not. This feature in the Roman defences, so different from the practice in later times, is not peculiar to York. It is seen at Porchester, Silchester, and in other Roman fortresses where each face of the wall was intended to be seen. It is thus evident that the earthworks, which form so important a feature in the defences of York, are all of post-Roman date."

There is a particular description of the *interior* of the tower in the *Hand-Book of the York Museum*

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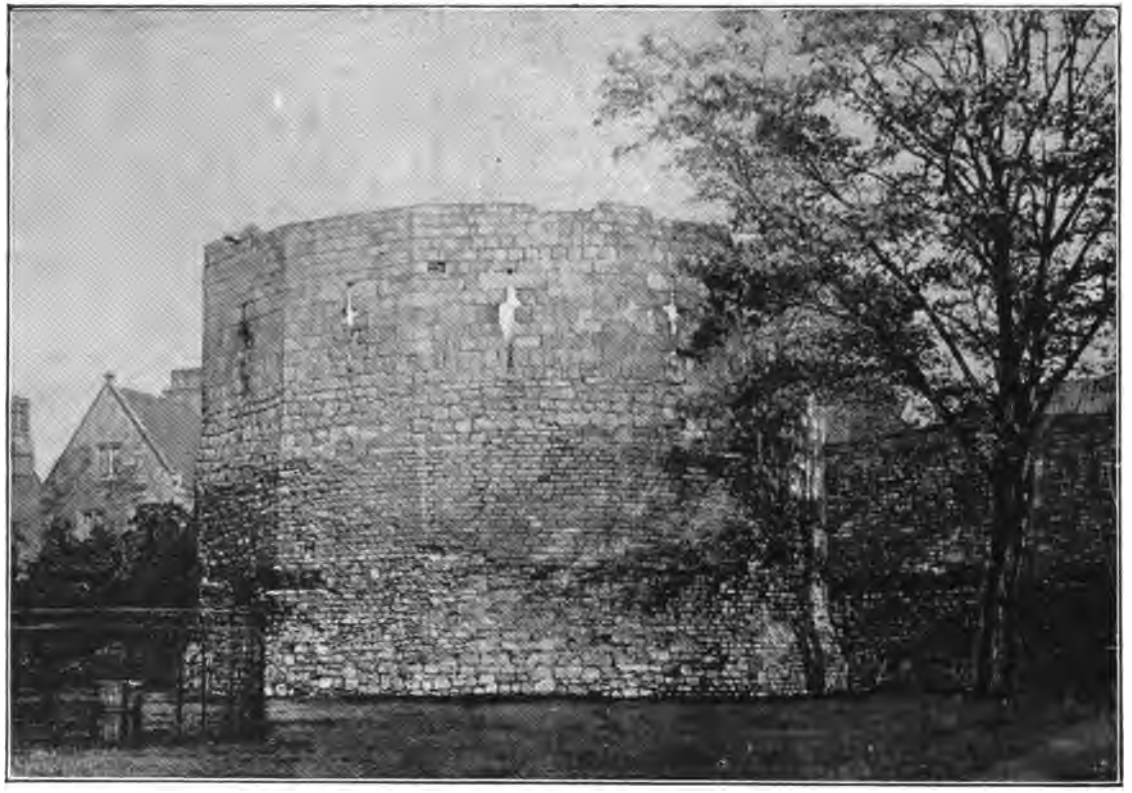

THE MULTANGULAR TOWER.

Opp. p. 7.

(*Y. P. S.*)[1]: "The masonry of the interior of the angle-tower, reaching very nearly, it is probable, to its original height, is remarkably fresh and perfect, owing to its having been concealed many ages by an accumulation of soil, which was removed soon after the building came into the possession of the Society in 1831. The tower has been divided by a wall (a small part of which is still remaining) into two equal portions. At the height of about five feet there seems to have been originally a timber floor; and, above this, at the height of about nine feet, another floor. The lower compartments had a mortar floor laid upon sand, and having no light but from the entrances, may have been used as depositories for stores or arms. The two apartments above these were probably guard-rooms; each of them having a narrow window or aperture, so placed as to enable those within to observe what was passing without, along the line of each wall. The opening of these apertures externally was not more than six inches in width; but within it expanded to about five feet; their height, owing to the change that has been made in the upper part of the tower, cannot be exactly ascertained. The annexed woodcut will exhibit a clear view of the arrangement of this part of the ancient fortification. The diameter of the interior at the base or floor is about 33 feet 6 inches; the plan consists of ten sides of a nearly regular thirteen-sided figure, forming nine very obtuse angles: whence it

[1] Page 4.

has obtained the name of THE MULTANGULAR TOWER."

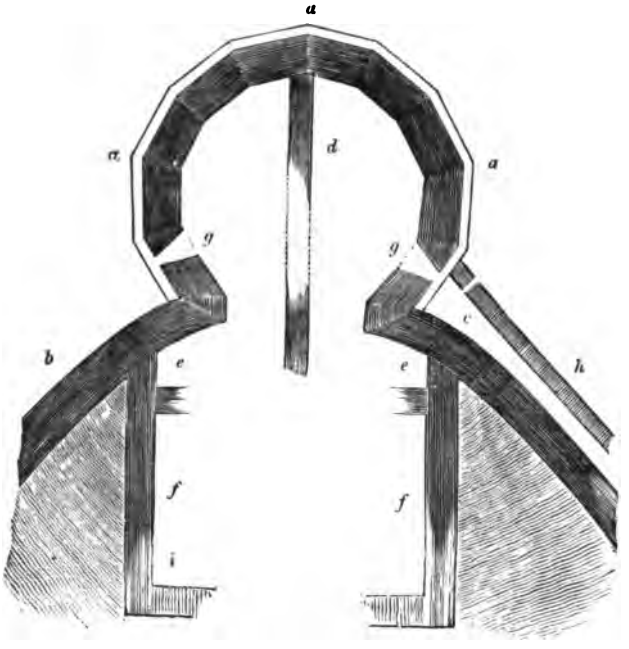

Fig. 2.

a, a, a.—The multangular wall of the tower.

b.—The wall of the Roman station proceeding from the tower in the direction of Lendal and Coney Street.

c.—The wall proceeding in the direction of Bootham Bar.

d.—The wall dividing the tower into two portions.

e, e.—The wall at the entrance into the tower. Traces of a similar wall have been seen at *i.*

f, f.—Walls built for the purpose of supporting the interior ramparts.

g, g.—The apertures in the upper rooms of the tower, which commanded a view of the exterior of the walls.

h.—The modern city wall.

CHAPTER II.

The Rise of the City.—The Prætorian Palace.—The Roads.—The Foss.

THE Roman camp gradually assumed the magnificence of a city, and "far exceeded the bounds of the military post, and included suburbs thrown out in every available direction far beyond the defences, showing that the inhabitants were very numerous and rich, and lived entirely free from any apprehension of danger."[1]

Constantius Chlorus has received the credit of adding fortifications to this civil city, which lay chiefly on the west of the river.

The headquarters of the General, at this time, gave place to a Prætorian Palace,[2] which was the residence of certain Emperors when visiting the island. It has been said: "In the city of York, and almost within shadow of the Minster, there is a little street leading from Goodramgate to St. Andrewgate, called the Bedern. Until very recently it afforded no thorough-

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[1] *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, 1874.

[2] For a bronze tablet found at York punctured with Greek uncial letters, "To the Gods of the General's Prætorium", see *Cat. Y. P. S.*, p. 121; *Trans. Y. P. S.*, 1876, p. 106; *Jour. Arch. Inst.*, vol. xxxix, p. 23.

fare, and a stranger might have passed the end of it without being aware of its existence: certainly without suspecting that he was passing a spot memorable in Roman history. Yet so it is. Here was the palatial residence of the Cæsars when York was dignified with the designation 'Altera Roma'; here Severus gave his dying charge to his two sons, the infamous Caracalla and the unfortunate Geta; here Papinian, the famous Roman lawyer, discharged the high functions of the Prætorian Prefect; here Constantius died, and Constantine the Great was invested with imperial purple by the Roman legions; and here every loyal Yorkist believes that that first Christian Emperor was born, though perverse historians give their verdict in favour of Naissus in Dacia."[1]

Eburacum was connected with neighbouring camps and cities by well-constructed roads, the chief workers in making and repairing which were the soldiers of the legions stationed in the neighbourhood. For this reason, these roads claim some notice here. One road ran from the gate, the site of which is marked by Bootham Bar, and led to Isurium. A second road crossed the river near the spot where the Guildhall now stands, and led to Calcaria (Tadcaster). Another road passed from the city, at the gate situated near the junction of Petergate and Goodramgate. This road led to the river Derwent,

[1] Drake, Wellbeloved, Dr. Lyth (here quoted), and other authorities, agree in placing the Prætorium here.

perhaps to Stamford Bridge. There was a fourth road, which has not been traced so satisfactorily, and which led northward to the river Tees.

Speaking of these roads brings to mind a waterway of the city, which possessed some interest to the Roman garrison of Eburacum.

Of the Latin words which have kept their place in the English language ever since these days of Roman Britain, several are strictly military; and one of these, besides being found in other forms, is preserved in the name of a sluggish stream which flows into the river Ouse at York. We get the word Foss from *Fossa* (a ditch or a trench).

The idea that the Foss was cut by the Roman soldiers to drain the Forest of Galtres, which lay on the north-east of the city, is now abandoned. The Foss is a natural water-course, and not an ancient canal. Nevertheless, it is true that the Foss was both improved and utilised by the Romans. It was certainly used for draining purposes, and also, what is of greater interest here, as a means of defence. Probably also the Romans converted the low land, now known as the Foss Islands, into a dock or basin, where both war galleys and corn vessels found harbour.

CHAPTER III.

Emperors resident in York:—Hadrian; Severus; Constantius Chlorus; Constantine the Great.—Troops resident in York.

OF the Emperors of Rome who came to Britain on military expeditions, or to receive the submission of native kings, four resided for a time in York.

Fig. 3.—HADRIANUS, ROMAN EMPEROR, A.D. 117-138.

Hadrian came to Britain A.D. 120, and is reported to have rested at York on his northern march. This, however, has been disputed.

Fig. 4.—SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, ROMAN EMPEROR, A.D. 193-211.

The Emperor Septimus Severus came to Britain A.D. 208, and after defeating the Caledonians, retired to York. Here he died February 4th, A.D. 211, in

the 65th year of his age and the 18th of his reign, "after having acquired more glory in war than any of the Emperors before him, none of whom could boast of so many victories, won both in civil wars against his rivals and in foreign expeditions against the barbarians."[1] Dion Cassius has thus described the death of Severus: "It is said that being at the point of death he spoke to his sons in these words: 'Live peaceably together; enrich the soldiers, and make no account of the rest of your subjects.' His body was borne by the soldiers to the funeral pile, about which the army and the two sons of the deceased Emperor made several processions in honour of his memory. Abundance of presents were cast upon it, and at last the fire was put to it by Caracalla and Geta."[2] The locality where these rites were performed bears the name of Severus to this day—the hillocks on the south-west side of the city, known as Severus Hills. It was long believed that the Severus Hills were *tumuli*, but it is now ascertained that they are natural formations. The author just quoted adds: "The ashes were collected, received into an urn of porphyry, carried to Rome, and deposited in the tomb of the Antonines. It is said that Severus ordered the urn to be brought to him some few days before his death, and taking it between his hands, he said, 'Thou shalt contain a man, that the world has not been able to contain.'"

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[1] *Herodian*, Hart's edition, 1749, p. 156.

[2] *Dion Cassius*, Manning's edit., 1704, vol. ii, p. 305.

It is believed that, at the time of Severus, Eburacum saw her palmiest days. A temple erected here to Bellona, the goddess of war, and which was built only in Rome and the principal cities of the Empire, is associated with a tradition of the life of this Emperor. Hargrove gives the following summary of all we know of this martial shrine :—

"In this Emperor's reign, a temple dedicated to Bellona, the goddess of war, was standing at York ; and Camden remarks that Severus, on entering the city, being desirous to sacrifice to the gods, was met by an ignorant augur, who led him by mistake to this temple, which in those days was considered as ominous of the Emperor's death. Drake believes this temple to have stood without Bootham Bar, but in what exact situation none can tell. Before the temple stood a small column called the Martial Pillar, whence a spear was thrown when war was declared against an enemy."

Fig. 5.—CONSTANTIUS I, ROMAN EMPEROR, A.D. 305-306.

Constantius Chlorus (the father of Constantine the Great), it is said, married a British lady—Helena. He became Emperor A.D. 305, and died at York in the July of the following year, A.D. 306, when on an expedition against the Picts. Constantine (the Great), who had accompanied this expedition to Britain,

hastened to York to attend the death-bed of his father, upon whose decease he was immediately and enthusiastically elected Emperor by the Roman and

Fig. 6.—CONSTANTINUS I, THE GREAT, ROMAN EMPEROR, A.D. 306-337.

British troops. This incident is represented by a beautiful painted window in the Guildhall. The window is thus described :—

"Constantine, habited in a mourning cloak, is represented as receiving the principal military and civil authorities (among the former of whom would be the commanders of the Sixth, or Victorious Legion, so long stationed at York), who bring him the sceptre, the golden orb, the laurel crown, and the imperial mantle.

"The young Prince, hesitating at first to take upon himself the burden of the empire, is beginning to yield to the persuasions of Eroc (a German King, who had come to Britain as an auxiliary of Constantius), who urges him to grasp the sceptre without further delay.

"The portrait of Constantine has been carefully studied from his coins in the British Museum.

"In the lower compartments are introduced on each side the Roman eagle; and in the middle the monogram of our Saviour, which Constantine after his

conversion adopted as a device for the imperial standard."

Two of the valiant Roman legions which visited Britain (the Ninth and the Sixth) occupied York successively as their headquarters.

It may be well to remark here that a Roman legion was very different from a modern regiment. The legion was a miniature army, consisting of cavalry, foot, and engineers, and numbered about 6,000 men.

We cannot dismiss summarily the history of two legions so closely allied with the records of the city, but will consider them separately.

ROMAN HELMETS.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ninth Legion: Defeated at Colchester.—Defeated in the North.—At the Grampians.—A Slab.—A Monumental Stone.—Other Relics.

THE Ninth Legion, called Hispana or Hispanica, or the Spanish Legion, because it was recruited in Spain, came over with the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 44. The story of the vicissitudes of this legion in Britain is not a cheerful one. Twice it suffered defeat, and indeed narrowly escaped annihilation, and once it broke out in mutiny.

The first occasion of defeat was when the heroic British Queen Boadicea, A.D. 61, attacked Camulodunum (Colchester), which had been made a Roman colony about ten years previously by Ostorius Scapula, and which was garrisoned by the Fourteenth Legion. Unfortunately, at this time most of the Imperial troops were with the Governor, Suetonius Paulinus (A.D. 58-62), on an expedition against the tribes of North Wales, and the Britons committed fearful ravages. The Ninth Legion, commanded by Petilius Cerialis, hastened to the relief of their comrades, only to suffer a most disastrous overthrow at the hands of the enraged Britons. The infantry were destroyed, and Cerialis fled with his cavalry

to camp, and defended himself in his entrenchments.[1]

A similar catastrophe occurred some twenty years later, when the legion was serving under Agricola (A.D. 78-84), in the northern part of the island. The story of the escape of these men from slaughter is very graphically told by the celebrated historian, Tacitus. The Britons made a sudden and powerful night attack upon this legion, which was the weakest in the expedition.

> "'Tis the soldier's life
> To have his balmy slumbers waked with strife."

They slew the guards, and, favoured by the profound sleep of the camp and their own expeditious movements, they forced their way into the Roman lines. Agricola, being acquainted by scouts of the state of affairs, ordered his swiftest horse and foot to hasten to the rear of the foe, and to fall upon them at that point. When the Britons heard the cheers on their rear, and responding cheers on their front, and saw Roman arms and standards shining in the approaching dawn, both behind and before, they were panic-stricken. The Romans fought with great courage and determination, one contingent being resolved it should be said that they had rescued their fellow-soldiers, and the other being equally resolved that it should never be said that they had needed assistance. So complete was the repulse of the

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[1] *Annals of Tacitus*, Book XIV, par. 3.

Britons, that they sought safety in a precipitous flight.[1]

The Ninth Legion also took part in the bloody battle in which Agricola vanquished the Caledonians near the Grampian Hills.[2] On its return from the north, the legion was stationed at York, about A.D. 108.

Numerous mementoes of the residence of these troops in this city have been discovered, and are chiefly preserved in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. It would not be proper here to compile a list of these curiosities. We must be content to direct attention to the most instructive Catalogue of the Museum just named, and to refer to one or two objects which will indicate the great wealth of historic relics so easy of access.

As one enters the lower room of the Hospitium in the grounds of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, there may be seen a large flat stone fixed upon the wall on the left, and on the wall, immediately opposite the door, a sculptured monumental stone.

The one on the left is part of a large lettered slab which, perhaps, commemorated the building of the Prætorian Palace by the Ninth Legion. It is thus described in the Catalogue of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society:—

"The greater part of a large inscribed tablet of imestone, 3 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 4 inches, discovered

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[1] See Tacitus, *Agricola*, xxvi.

[2] *Ibid.;* also General Roy, *Rom. Brit.*, Plate XI.

in 1854 by some workmen whilst digging a drain in King's Square (the old Curia Regis), at a depth of about 28 feet. The inscription is arranged in six lines. The letters, beautifully cut, vary in height from 6 inches to 3¼ inches. In its perfect state the inscription was probably as follows, the missing letters being supplied in italics :—

IMP CAESAR *DIVI*
*N*ERVAE FIL . *NERVA TRA*
*IA*NVS . AVG . GER*M* . *DAC* .
*P*ONTIFEX MAXIMV*S TRIBVN* .
*PO*TESTATIS XII . I*MP* . *VI* . *COS V* . *P* . *P* .
PER . LEG . VIIII . HI*SP* .

Which may be thus rendered :

" ' The Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan, son of the deified Nerva, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Chief Pontiff, invested the twelfth time with the Tribunitian Powers, Consul the fifth time, Father of his country, caused this to be performed by the Ninth Legion, (called) the Spanish.'[1]

"What the work was that the Ninth Legion performed by order of the Emperor cannot be ascertained ; but, from the character of the tablet, it may be inferred that it was of magnitude and importance. As it was found in the old Curia Regis, it is quite possible that it recorded the erection of the Imperial Palace."[1]

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[1] *Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Catalogue*, p. 47, No. 32.

The other stone is thus described:

"A large monumental stone, 6 feet 2 inches high, by 2 feet 2 inches wide, on which is the figure of a Standard-bearer in an arched recess. In his right hand he holds the Standard or *Signum* of the cohort, ending in an open hand, in his left an object about which there has been some doubt. It has been considered by Horsley and others that it represents the vessel used in measuring the corn, which was part of the Roman soldiers' pay, but Dr. Hübner and Mr. Price have shown satisfactorily that it is a collection of tablets, or the wooden box which contained them.

Fig. 7.

"The following is the inscription:

L . DVCCIVS
L . VOLTRVFI
NVS . VIEN
SIGNIF . LEG . VIIII
AN . XXIIX
H . S . E .

Which may be read:

"Lucius Duccius Rufinus, son of Lucius, of the

Voltinian tribe of Vienna (in Gaul), Standard-bearer of the Ninth Legion, aged twenty-eight, is buried here.'

"This stone was found about the year 1686, probably where it had been originally placed, in Trinity Gardens, Micklegate, and was for a long time inserted in the churchyard wall; afterwards it was removed to Ribston Hall, the residence of the Goodrickes, where it continued in the garden wall, exposed to the weather, until 1847. Dr. Hübner thinks that this is a monument of the first century."[1]

Surely, apart altogether from military bias, no man interested in the records of his country, or even in history at all, can look upon such mementoes of the past without being stirred by the strongest emotions of wonder, pleasure, and veneration.

In the centre of the room, where these stones are to be seen, there are the tombs of soldiers of this legion, constructed of large red tiles of a similar shape to those used for roofing purposes.

The history of this legion, subsequent to its settlement in York, is not known, but it is believed that it was incorporated with the Sixth Legion. After their incorporation with the Sixth, they took the title of Victrix, in common with that legion. Roman bricks have been found in the city bearing the stamp, LEG IX . VIC.

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[1] *Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Catalogue*, p. 49, No. 35.

CHAPTER V.

The Sixth Legion: An Altar.—Building Hadrian's Wall.—Repairing Agricola's Wall.—In York.—Monumental Stones.—Departure.

THE Sixth Legion, which also bore the names Victrix (Victorious), Pia (Dutiful), Fidelis (Faithful), arrived in Britain nearly eighty years after the Ninth Legion. This splendid body of men came from Germany with Hadrian, A.D. 120.

During the removal of the old bridge and the erection of the swing-bridge at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, about twenty years ago, an altar of very considerable interest was recovered from the bed of the river. It was not found complete, but was dredged up in parts at different times. The panel on the head of this altar bears the inscription:

NEPTVNO LE*GIO*

The centre panel is inscribed with the letters

VI VI*CTRIX*
P*IA* F*IDELIS*.[1]

These abbreviations are to be read: "To Neptune,

[1] The letters in italics are supplied.

Fig. 8.

the Sixth Legion, the Victorious, the Dutiful, the Faithful (erects this altar)." The centre panel is decorated by a trident and dolphin, emblems of the god of the seas.

This valuable relic was "erected as a thank-offering for the safe arrival of the Legion on their reaching Britain". It is now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[1]

These gallant troops were highly esteemed in the Roman army. The Emperor Severus said that they would venture "naked through the fire" for his sake.

Hadrian, with whom these forces entered Britain, was a renowned builder. "No prince, perhaps, ever raised so many public and private edifices as Hadrian. In every city of note throughout the empire some erection perpetuated his memory—bridges, aqueducts, temples, and palaces rose on every hand. Many cities, likewise, were either wholly built or repaired by him. Building seems, indeed, to have been a main feature in his system of government. He was the first who appointed that each cohort should have its quota of masons, architects, and all kinds of workmen needed for the erection and adornment of public edifices."[2] This emperor raised to himself an enduring monument in Britain by erecting a fortified wall from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth. The Sixth

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[1] See *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, or *Catalogue S. A. Newcastle*, or Scarth's *Roman Britain*.

[2] *Hist. Rome*, Tract Soc., quoted by Dr. Bruce.

Legion, with the Second and Twentieth Legions, was engaged A.D. 121 in the construction of this wall. Though some evidences of their presence have been found at other points, the troops forming the Sixth Legion were employed chiefly upon the western portion of this barrier. Dr. Collingwood Bruce, in his *Roman Wall*, describes a relic of this legion found near Carlisle, Luguvallium of the Romans, and another discovered at Birdoswald, the ancient Amboglanna. The former relic is an altar, and merits some attention. It is inscribed with bold lettering, which reads:

L*VCIVS* IVNIVS VIC
TORINVS ET
C*AIVS* AELIANUS LEG*ATI*
AUG*VSTALES* LEG*IONIS* VI VIC*TRICIS*
PI*AE* F*IDELIS* OB RES TRANS
VALLUM PRO
SPERE GESTAS[1]

which, translated, runs:

"Lucius Junius Victorinus, and Caius Aelianus, Augustal Legates of the Sixth Legion Victorious, Pious, and Faithful, on account of achievements beyond the Walls prosperously performed."

Some of the quarries from which the stones were hewn for the masonry of Hadrian's barrier have been found, and one of these, a quarry at Halt-

[1] The letters in italics are supplied.

whistle Fell, once bore the name of the Sixth Legion "written" on its rocks.[1]

A.D. 139 these forces were again employed, with the Second and Twentieth Legions, under the Legate Lollius Urbicus, in restoring Agricola's wall and forts, first erected A.D. 81, between the Firth of Forth and the river Clyde.

After the completion of these enterprises, the legion was stationed in York. Ptolemy, the geographer and chronologist of Alexandria, states that York was the headquarters of the Sixth Legion, and the fact is referred to by other and later writers.

The monumental and other remains of the Sixth Legion are, as might be expected, from its more protracted residence here, more numerous than those of the Ninth.

As illustrating the character of the relics of this legion, which may be seen in the collection of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, we quote those numbered 39, 40, and 41 in the Catalogue of that Society.

No. 39 was erected by a soldier to the memory of his wife and children. It is "a large tablet, 5 ft. 8 in. high and 3 ft. broad, found in use as a cover to the sarcophagus of Ælia Severa (No. 47). The upper part of the slab shows the figures of a father and mother and two children. The inscription is faint, and, as far as it can be read, is as follows :

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[1] Mr. J. Clayton, quoted by Dr. Bruce, p. 80, in *The Roman Wall.*

D . M . FLAVIÆ AVGVSTINÆ
VIXIT . AN . XXXVIIII . M . VII . D . XI . FILIVS
. . . VS . AVGSTINVS . VIXIT . AN . I . D III
. . . . . VIXIT AN . I . M VIIII . D . V . C . ÆRESIVS
. . . . MIL . LEG . VI . VIC . CONIVGI . CAR
FILIIS . ET . SIBI . F . C .

It appears that C. Æresius . . . . . a soldier of the Sixth Legion Victorious, raised this memorial to his wife, Flavia Augustina, who lived thirty-nine years, seven months, and eleven days; to his son, ... Augustinus, who lived one year and three days; and to a daughter, who lived one year, nine months, and five days; providing at the same time a memorial for himself. It is probable that the missing name of the son was Flavius. The stone was found on the Mount."[1]

No. 40 is a brief but an eloquent tribute to the fatherly sorrow of which the Roman soldier was capable. The Catalogue thus speaks of it: "A finely-wrought coffin, 4 ft. by 2 ft., found in the excavation of the North-Eastern Railway, near Holgate Bridge. It bears the following beautifully simple inscription:

D . M . SIMPLICIAE FLORENTINE
ANIME INNOCENTISSIME
QVE VIXIT MENSES DECEM
FELICIVS . SIMPLEX . PATER . FECIT
LEG . VI . V .

[1] *Catalogue of Museum Y. P. S.*, p. 51.

'To the Gods, the Manes. To Simplicia Florentina, a most innocent being, who lived ten months, Felicius Simplex, her father, of the Sixth Legion Victorious, dedicated this.' No mother's name appears, a circumstance which suggests the probability of the birth of this darling child having been marked by a lamentable event that gives still greater interest to this tribute of paternal affection. It is remarkable also that the words 'anime innocentissime' are found on the Christian tombs in the Catacombs, a fact which opens out a most interesting field of thought."[1]

It has often been remarked that the larger proportion of the Roman tombstones found in Britain, particularly in the north, record the deaths of comparatively young persons. Dr. Bruce remarks that "the climate of the north of England must have told with fearful severity upon the constitutions of those who had been reared under the sunny skies of Italy and Spain." The monument which is referred to in the following extract perhaps furnishes an illustration of this fact.

"No. 41.—A large coffin of coarse grit, 7½ feet long by 2 feet 11 inches, found whilst excavating the Castle Yard in 1835, and thus inscribed in a panel :

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[1] Tertullian says that large numbers of the Roman soldiers were converts to Christianity in the reign of Severus.

D . M .
AVR . SVPERO . CENT
LEG . VI . QVIVIXITANIS
XXXVIII . MIIII . DXIII . AVRE
LIA . CENSORINA . CONIVNX
MEMORIAM . POSSVIT .

'To the Gods, the Manes. To Aurelius Superbus, a centurion of the Sixth Legion, who lived thirty-eight years, four months, and thirteen days, Aurelia Censorina, his wife, set up this memorial.'"

Nothing can surpass the pathetic interest of these affectionate memorials.

In the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society there are also tile-constructed tombs of soldiers of the legion similar to those of the Ninth.

Early in the fifth century the Romans bade farewell to Britain. Macaulay has said: "Of the western provinces that obeyed the Cæsars, Britain was the last that was conquered, and the first that was thrown away."

A.D. 410 Honorius freed the Britons from their allegiance, and A.D. 426 Valentinian III recalled all the imperial troops from foreign service; for, surging like a devastating flood, the barbarous Goths and Vandals were sweeping towards the gates of Rome. At this time the Sixth Legion left Britain to serve nearer home, having been in York for nearly three hundred years, throughout which period the ranks were regularly recruited, partly from the Continent and partly from the flower of British youth.

Mod

MARTIAL STATUE (ROMAN).

Opp. p. 31.

CHAPTER VI.

Other Troops associated with York.—A Military Statue.—Neighbouring Stations.—Outposts.—Roman Idea of War.—The Romans leave Britain.

IN addition to the two legions so very closely associated with York, other troops have been represented, by the relics which have been unearthed from time to time; and it is possible that these forces also resided in the city, though only temporarily. An altar bearing the inscription of the Second Legion has been found, and also a bronze badge of the Fourth Cohort of Gauls. The permanent station of the Second Legion was at Caerleon in Wales, and the Fourth Cohort of Gauls garrisoned Little Chesters, on the great wall erected by Hadrian.

Besides the relics referred to which are associated with particular legions, there are many preserved in York which possess a more general interest. In the vestibule of the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society there is a piece of statuary in a marvellous state of preservation. It is thus described: "A fine statue, probably representing the youthful Mars. . . . . It is carved in light-coloured grit, probably by a local artist, who has chosen as

his model a marble statue. The figure, defective, unfortunately, in the feet and right arm, is 5 feet 10 inches high, and represents a martial personage in helmet, breast-plate, and greaves, with the left hand resting upon a large oval shield. In the right hand, which has been in two parts, was no doubt a lofty spear of wood or metal. The hair is arranged in fillets, and the face is beautifully cut."[1] This is the finest specimen of Romano-British workmanship that has been found in Britain.

Other objects of deep interest might be spoken of did space permit.

So long as York was the headquarters of Roman troops, detachments would be sent out to occupy neighbouring stations. For instance, we know that a cohort of the Sixth Legion garrisoned a camp the site of which is now marked by the town of Malton, and where many Roman remains have been found. Another detachment occupied a camp where the village of Aldborough now stands.[2] In fact, the Sixth Legion, while stationed at York, garrisoned all places between the Humber and the Tyne.

"Further, it is highly probable that there were small forts or outposts in the neighbourhood, connected with the principal stations by vicinal roads.

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[1] *Catalogue Y. P. S.*, p. 36, No. 12. For a full discussion of this subject, see the treatise by the late Rev. C. W. King, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

[2] Ecroyd Smith, *Reliquiæ Isurianæ.*

The term Acaster,[1] belonging to two villages on the bank of the Ouse—Acaster Malbis and Acaster Selby—seems to indicate a Roman origin, and to

Fig. 9.—ROMAN SOLDIERS ON THE OUSE BANKS.

warrant the conjecture that they were forts established for the protection of the river."[2]

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[1] *Castra*, a camp.

[2] Wellbeloved, *Eburacum.*

The Roman idea of war was not a noble one.

> "To overcome in battle, and subdue
> Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
> Manslaughter,"

was, indeed, counted by them to be the "highest pitch of human glory". Nevertheless, Britain will ever remain in many ways a debtor to the imperial legions.

When the Romans left Britain, York is said to have been a second or another Rome; but their departure was the signal for spoliation, and, by a series of merciless wars, the city was reduced to a heap of ruins.

THE

SAXON AND DANISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

A Time of Strife.—Ruin of York.—First Native Army.—Edwin, King of Northumbria.—A Danish Officer.—The Danes as Builders.—York Castle.—Siward, Earl of Northumbria.

INVASION, intrigue, massacre, and bloodshed of every description, fill the records of the next six hundred years, the Britons, the Saxons, and the Danes alternately fighting their way into power, only to enjoy the most uncertain and varying fortunes. During this period York was repeatedly besieged, taken and retaken, and deprived by neglect and wanton vandalism of nearly all the magnificence with which Roman wealth and art had invested it.

We now for the first time meet with a native military organisation. "The first military establishment introduced into England was that of the Anglo-Saxons. By their system, every able-bodied adult male was compelled to serve his country and present

himself in military array in time of invasion, or any emergency. The case of emergency was decided by the governing power. Only the clergy were exempt from the universal service, and they did not always claim the privilege. The regular army, few in number, consisted only of the personal body-guard of the king and the great nobles. Most, if not all, Saxon freemen were armed."[1]

One of the central figures in the Saxon Heptarchy was Edwin, King of Northumbria, the story of whose conversion to Christianitv has so often been told. He claimed dominion over Mercia, a claim the Mercians firmly resisted. A battle was fought at Hatfield, near Doncaster (A.D. 633), and Edwin was killed. The head of Edwin was buried at York, in the porch or chapel of St. Gregory, in the Minster, then in course of erection. It is a very common error to confound this chapel with the church of St. Gregory, which stood on the right ascending Micklegate, between Micklegate and Tanner's Row.

The name of a soldier of Danish times is perpetuated by the name of one of the chief streets of the city. When the Danes established themselves in Northumbria, they made York their headquarters. Proceeding with the victors to the further conquest of England, the Danish governor of the city left as his deputy an officer named Godram, who resided, so says tradition, in the street now called Goodram-

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[1] Harrison, *The Volunteer, Militiaman, and Regular Soldier*, p. 16.

gate.[1] Doubtless his residence was an official building standing on the site of the old Roman palace.

The original foundations of the present walls and bars are supposed to be Danish. "The Saxons, excepting their ecclesiastics, were little skilled in the art of fabrication, and the first subjection of York by the Normans is rendered more memorable by the building of two castles to keep the citizens themselves in awe, than marked by the repair of the outward fortifications, which would in some measure have contributed to their protection. . . . . Thus must the preference be given to a Danish origin."[2]

We first read of a castle in connection with York in the reign of Athelstan (925-940), "to whom belongs the glory of having established what has since been called the Kingdom of England." He was already King of Wessex and Mercia, and on the death of the Danish king, Sithrick of Northumbria, he also seized that kingdom. The castle at York being strong, held out against him, even when the city was in his hands. The two sons of the late king entered the Humber with six hundred vessels from Denmark. York was retaken from Athelstan, and the Danes opened communication with their friends in the castle. Flushed with this success, they went to encounter Athelstan, who at this time was near the Scottish Border. The contending forces met in

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[1] Monk Bar, at the extremity of Goodramgate, used to be called "Goodrome Bar". (Leland.)

[2] Lockwood and Cates, *Fortifications of York*, p. 12.

Northumberland, and the Danes sustained an overwhelming defeat. Athelstan now proceeded to York, and "razed the castle to the ground, lest it should any more be a nursery of rebellion."[1] This castle stood between the Rivers Ouse and Foss, and near their confluence, and where, in Roman times, there is supposed to have been a fortified granary.

A famous military character during the period of the restored Saxon dominion was a Dane, Siward, the eighth Earl of Northumbria, and one of the Lords of the Manor of Malton.

In 1054, Edward the Confessor, the English king, sent Siward with ten thousand men against Macbeth, who had slain Duncan, King of Scotland, and had taken possession of the Scottish throne. One reason why this grim old warrior was selected for this expedition was that the wife of the murdered Duncan was his daughter.[2] This event, and Siward's valour, are immortalised in Shakespeare's tragedy of *Macbeth*, Act iv, Scene 3 :—

> "Gracious England hath
> Lent us good Siward, and ten thousand men;
> An older, and a better soldier, none
> That Christendom gives out!"

Macbeth was defeated, and the kingdom was given to Malcolm, son of Duncan, as the rightful ruler.

Earl Siward died in the following year, in York,

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[1] "Ye Castel of Euerwyk to grounde he let caste." (Robert of Gloucester.)

[2] Holinshed.

Main

ST. MARY'S ABBEY.

Opp. p. 39.

and was buried at the church of St. Olave,[1] which had been built by his own munificence.[2]

There is a very characteristic legend preserved concerning Siward's death. Feeling that his end was near, he cried out that though he had not fallen soldierlike on the field of battle, yet he would even now die as a soldier. "Arm me", said he, "with my impenetrable coat of mail; gird me with my faithful sword, and set my helmet upon my head; give me in my left hand my large buckler; and in my right my gilded battle-axe; that, being a valiant soldier, like a soldier I may die." We are told that his friends complied with his request, and that, sitting erect in his bed, he died.

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[1] "This Abbey was rebuilt by William Rufus (1087-1100), and dedicated to St. Mary, the name by which the ruins are known to-day. This fabric was destroyed by fire in the time of King Stephen (1135-1154). In the year 1270 (Henry III) it was begun to be rebuilt under the direction of Simon de Warwic, then Abbot, who lived to see it finished in twenty-two years, and which is the fabric whose noble remains we see at this day." (*Fragmenta Vetusta.* Halfpenny. Plate xxx.) The church of St. Olave, in Marygate, is a modern structure, rebuilt after the great siege of 1644.

[2] *Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 1055.

CHAPTER II.

The Battles of Fulford and Stamford Bridge.

THE great military event of this period was the traitorous and unbrotherly invasion of the North by Tostig, the outlawed Earl of Northumbria.

When Siward died, he had no son who could assume the earldom of Northumbria. The victory in Scotland had forfeited Siward the life of his eldest son and heir. In the tragedy (*Macbeth*) already referred to, Siward is thus made to acquiesce in this sore deprivation. When the Earl is informed of the death of his son, the following conversation occurs:

> "*Siward:* Had he his hurts before?
> *Lord Rosse:* Ay, on the front!
> *Siward:* Why, then, God's soldier be he!
> Had I as many sons as I have hairs,
> I would not wish them to a fairer death!"[1]

In these circumstances, the Witenagemôt, or Great Council of the nation, elected Tostig, the son of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, as the successor of Siward.

Tostig proved himself to be thoroughly unworthy of the people's confidence; a cruel, unprincipled tyrant, "rapacious to grasp, but impotent to hold,—able to ruin, but strengthless to save." Enduring

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[1] Act v, Scene 7.

his oppression for some time, the Northumbrians in 1065 rose against him, and he was obliged to fly from the country. This event is thus related by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:—"All the Thanes in Yorkshire and Northumberland gathered themselves together, and outlawed their Earl, Tostig, and slew his household men, all that they might come at, as well English as Danish: and they took all his weapons at York, and gold and silver, and all his treasures which they might anywhere there hear of, and sent after Morkar, the son of Elgar the Earl, and chose him to be their Earl: and he went south with all the shire, and with Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, until he came to Northampton: and his brother Edwin came to meet him with the men who were in his Earldom, and also many Britons came with him. There came Harald, the Earl, to meet them; and they laid an errand upon him to King Edward, and also sent messengers with him, and begged that they might have Morkar for their Earl. And the King granted it, and sent Harald again to them at Northampton on the eve of St. Simon's and St. Jude's Mass; and he made known the same to them, and delivered a pledge thereof to them. . . . . And Tostig the Earl, and his wife, and all those who would what he would, went south over sea with him to Baldwin the Earl, and he received them all; and they were all the winter there."[1]

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[1] Thorpe's Translation, vol. ii, p. 162.

In 1066 Edward the Confessor died, and Harold, Tostig's eldest brother, who had succeeded his father in the earldom of Wessex, was made king. Hate and jealousy now filled the heart of the outlawed Tostig, and he resolved to punish the people who had deprived him of his power, and he also determined on a bolder scheme—to wrest the Crown from his brother Harold, who had acquiesced in the action of the Northumbrians in passing the sentence of outlawry on him.

Tostig had found an asylum at Flanders, and in those days, when numbers of men lived by pillage and freebooting, it was not difficult for him to gather a force to attempt his purpose.

After an abortive effort to secure a foothold in the south, and again in Lincolnshire, and failing to secure the alliance of the Scottish king, Tostig secured the aid of Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, a giant of nearly eight feet, a veteran who had seen service, even in those early days, in Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Holy Land.[1]

Tostig and Harold of Norway sailed up the Humber at the head of five hundred transport ships in the summer of 1066. They effected a landing at Riccall, on the Ouse, about ten miles below York. Pushing forward, they gained a complete victory over Morcar (who had succeeded Tostig in the earldom of Northumbria) and his brother Edwin, at

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[1] *The Heimskringla of Snorri Sturluson.* Edited by S. Laing. Vol. iii, pp. 348, 352, 364.

UofR

STAMFORD BRIDGE.

Opp p. 43.

Fulford, a victory which led to the capitulation of the city of York.[1]

Harold, the English king, was in the south, fearfully anticipating an invasion in that quarter, for William, Duke of Normandy, was also making great preparations to seize the English Crown. Harold,

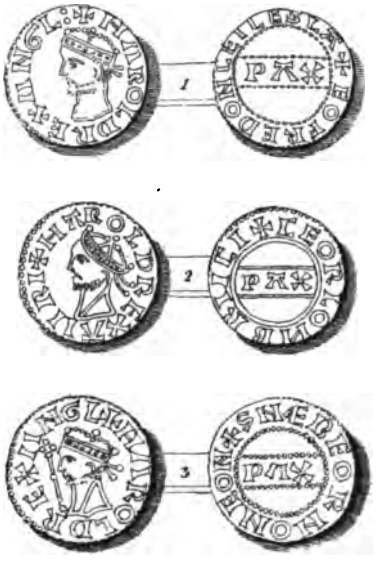

Fig. 10.—HAROLD II.

hearing of the invasion in the North, hurried along the Roman road, by forced marches, to York.

The invaders, on Harold's approach, left the city and took up a strong position about eight miles distant, at Stamford Bridge, having the river Derwent on their front.

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[1] Simeon of Durham says that York was "stormed" by the invaders.

The following map (fig. 11) will assist the reader in tracing the movements of these contending armies.

This sudden and somewhat strange removal from

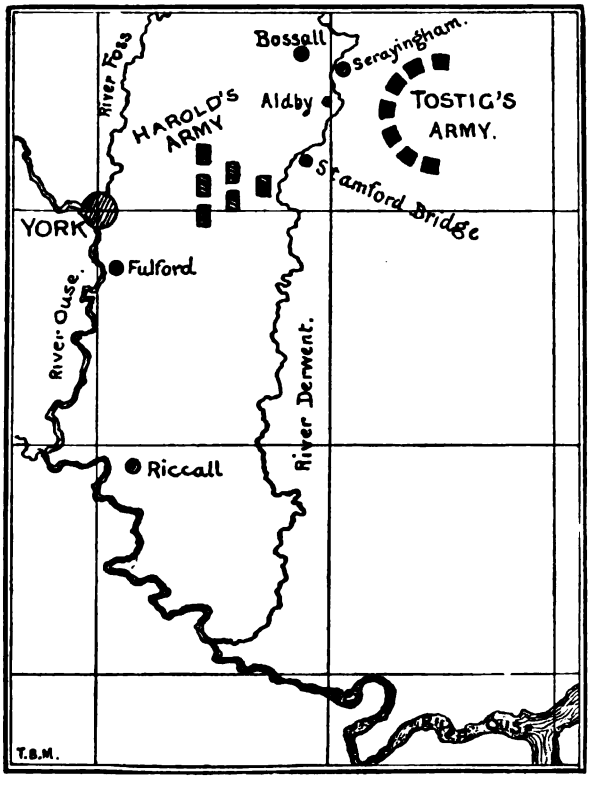

Fig. 11.

a city with stone defences, however slight, has been explained in various ways. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says: "Harold, King of Norway, and Tostig the Earl, and their forces, were gone from their ships beyond York to Stamford Bridge, because

it had been promised them, for a certainty, that there, from all the shire, hostages should be brought to meet them."[1]

By some it is said to have been simply a question of commissariat. The large army under Tostig and the Norwegian Harold—about sixty thousand men—could not be fed in York, but at Aldby, on the Derwent, there were immense quantities of provisions of every description, for here the King's taxes, which were collected not in specie but in kind, were stored.

Whatever truth there may be in all this, it is certain that one reason for this movement on the part of the invaders was, that, being confident of possessing superior strength, they desired a pitched battle, that would be speedy and decisive in its results.

The sequel is thus summarised in the *Saxon Chronicle:* "When it came to be told to King Harold what had been done against him, he came with a great army of Angles (English), and meeting the King of the Norwegians at Stœngfordesbrycge, killed him and Count Tostig, and brilliantly overthrew their whole army."[2]

The battle of Stamford Bridge was fought on September the 25th, 1066, and raged from daybreak to sunset, the contending forces each numbering about sixty thousand men.

On the York side of the Derwent, at Stamford Bridge, there is an undulating field, to which there

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[1] Thorpe's translation, p. 168

[2] Gibson's ed., p. 172.

is attached a curious but well-authenticated story. The field through which the North-Eastern Railway embankment runs, just before the line crosses the viaduct, is called Malifax Field, and by some of the country people Halifax Field. The real name is Male-fax Field, the Field of the Evil Deed. Here, it is said, the English Harold surprised a body of the invading Northmen as they lay in idleness and repose upon the bank of the stream, and completely routed them.

The battle centred round a wooden bridge which stood between the present bridge and the mill. An incredible story of this bridge being held for some hours by a solitary Norwegian has often been narrated by historians. One single Norwegian stopped the passage to all Harold's army for three hours together, and slew forty of his men with his own hand; for, standing in the midst of the bridge, he suffered none to pass over, and slew all that attempted it or came within his reach. Being desired to yield himself up to the English king, with large promises of reward adequate to such mighty strength and valour, he sternly smiled at the proffer, and despised both it and the weakness of those who let one single man resist them all.[1] At last this hardy fellow being slain by a dart thrown at him, say some, or, as others write, by one in a boat, who got under the bridge and stabbed him with a spear, the Norwegians gave way, dismayed with the loss

[1] The story is here adapted from Drake.

of their champion, and retired to their trenches.[1] This be as it may, the English drove back the defenders of the bridge, crossed the river, and attacked the invaders within their own works, but not before the English king had made kindly overtures to his brother, an episode which is thus narrated in the Sagas of the Norse kings by Snorri Sturluson :—

"Twenty horsemen rode forward from the Thingmen's troops against the Northmen's array ; and all of them, and likewise their horses, were clothed in armour.

"One of the horsemen said, 'Is Earl Toste in this army?' The Earl answered, 'It is not to be denied that ye will find him here.'

"The horseman says, 'Thy brother, King Harald, sends thee salutation, with the message that thou shalt have the whole of Northumberland; and rather than thou shouldst not submit to him, he will give thee the third part of his kingdom to rule over along with himself.'

"The Earl replies, 'This is something different from the enmity and scorn he offered me last winter; and if this had been offered then, it would have saved many a man's life who is now dead, and it would have been better for the Kingdom of England. But, if I accept of this offer, what will he give King Harald Sigurdson for his trouble?'

[1] William of Malmesbury, quoted by Drake and others. See also *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

"The horseman replied, 'He has also spoken of this; and he will give him seven feet of English ground, or as much more as he may be taller than other men.'

"'Then', said the Earl, 'go now, and tell King Harald to get ready for battle, for never shall the Northmen say, with truth, that Earl Toste left King Harald Sigurdson to join his enemy's troops, when he came to fight west here in England. We shall rather all take the resolution to die with honour, or to gain England by a victory.'

"Then the horsemen rode back. King Harald Sigurdson said to the Earl, 'Who was the man who spoke so well?'

"The Earl replied, 'That was King Harald Godwinson!'

"Then said King Harald Sigurdson, 'That was by far too long concealed from me; for they had come so near to our army, that this Harald should never have carried back the tidings of our men's slaughter.'[1]

"Then said the Earl, 'It was certainly imprudent. . . . . But I saw he was going to offer me peace, and a great dominion, and that, on the other hand, I would be his murderer if I betrayed him; and I would rather he should be my murderer than I his, if one of two be to die.' King Harald Sigurdson observed to his men (concerning Harald Godwinson),

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[1] Or, "Never should he have gone back—never told hereafter the doom of this day."

'That was but a little man, yet he sat firmly in his stirrups.'"[1]

Within a few minutes the battle had begun, and "raged with unmitigated fury until three in the afternoon, when the generalship of the English Harold proved superior in the field to that of his Norwegian namesake. He ordered his horsemen to retreat, in order to draw the enemy from their position, and break their ranks. The stratagem had the desired effect. The Norwegians quitted their position. The English horsemen returned to the charge, and obtained a speedy victory over their now disordered and half-armed enemies, for they had thrown aside their shields and breastplates to join in the pursuit. Harold of Norway was pierced in the neck with an arrow, and instantly expired. Tostig was also slain; and the greater part of the army, with all the chiefs, perished fighting like madmen.

"'The blades glittered,
The hauberks were cleft:
Blows of weapons
Dinn'd on the skulls.
Trodden were the shields
Of the death-doomed—
Their rings and their crests
By the hard-footed horsemen.'"[2]

The battle was not confined to Stamford Bridge, but spread across the country, so that places so wide apart as Bossall and Riccall were burying-places of

[1] *The Heimskringla*, ed. S. Lang, vol. iv, p. 43.
[2] Grainge, *Battles and Battlefields of Yorkshire.*

the slain. The enemy was not only driven from the field, but chased to their ships, which were also seized by the English.

So disastrous was the day to the Norwegians, that a score of vessels were sufficient to take home the broken-spirited remnant of their mighty force, and these only returned by the permission and leniency of the man they had sought to drive from the throne.

The Norwegians had looted York, but Harold recovered great spoils from the field of battle. Camden says that "in the spoils of the field there was found such a mass of gold, that twelve lusty young men could hardly bear it on their backs."

Mementoes of this tremendous conflict have repeatedly been brought to light. In 1807, a box containing 270 silver coins was unearthed at Scrayingham. The coins belonged to the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) and the times immediately preceding that monarch. They were in good condition, and had been issued from the mint at York. It is clear that this money formed part of the loot taken from the city, and had been buried during the battle.[1] Sir Walter Scott, in a note in *Ivanhoe*, says that, so late as 1830, one buttress of the bridge which the Norwegian held, by his single arm, was still standing. Portions of the black oak piles taken from the river on the erection of the stone bridge are still preserved in the district.

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[1] Belt, *Bossall Hall;* and Frank, *North Yorkshire Antiquities.*

Memories of this great battle still haunt the neighbourhood. Reference has been made, for instance, to the legend of the Norwegian giant, who held the bridge against all comers until nearly half-a-hundred Saxons had fallen before the swing of his axe.

Drake says "that the inhabitants of the village had a custom of making pies in the form of a swine-tub—a trough for 'scalding' pigs—which, says tradition, was made use of as a boat by the man who struck the Norwegian from under the bridge." This custom is by no means forgotten. It has come down to quite recent times, though at present in abeyance. The local name for the trough-like pastry referred to was "*spear-pie*", because, in the centre of it, an upright skewer was erected as emblematic of the spear of the Saxon. Another name which has been given to this mysterious comestible is "pear-pie", which is explained by the fact that the housewives modified the custom somewhat by filling the pies with pears, the fruit being plentiful at the season when the commemorative pies were eaten, September 25th. Sir Walter Scott, in *Ivanhoe*, speaks of "Pear-pie feast", but fails to give the right derivation of the term.

Again, at one end of the village, there is a field containing a spring of beautifully clear water, which is greatly preferred by the people to the water of the pumps which have been put down for their use. The spring is known as "Danes' Well", and the field as "Danes' Well Garth".

Further, there is not a villager who cannot point out to the inquiring stranger the "Battle Flats".

It is really very wonderful how memories of the great battle have survived the changes of eight hundred years![1]

Harold's triumph over the Norsemen was short-lived. Within a few days he himself was defeated and slain at Hastings.

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[1] For a powerful description of the details of this battle, see Lord Lytton's *Harold*, book x, chap. xi.

THE NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Capture of York.—A Castle Built.—A Second Castle.—The Sites at the Present Time.—Native Hatred towards the Normans. —York recovered by the English.—Danish Allies.—Slaughter of the Norman Garrison.—William again in Possession.—The Massacre of the North.—The Feudal System.

WILLIAM the Conqueror became master of York in 1068, two years after his decisive victory at Hastings. For the preservation of the city and the subjugation of the North, the Normans built two castles.[1]

One of these rose during the first year of the Norman occupation of the city. The historian Thierry says: "The conquerors built a citadel in the heart of the city of York, which thus became a Norman fortress, and the northern bulwark of the conquest." The building and defence of this castle was entrusted to William Mallet, who came over

[1] Referred to in *Domesday Book*, tom. i, fol. 298.

with the Conqueror, and distinguished himself at the Battle of Hastings. There were associated with him Robert FitzRichard, Gilbert of Ghent, and five hundred selected knights.

The erection of the second castle took place in the following year (1069), and the event is thus recorded by the author just quoted: "In the North, the city of York continued to be the extreme limit of the conquest. The Norman soldiers occupying that city did not endeavour to advance beyond it; and even their excursions into the country south of York were not without danger to themselves. Hugues, son of Baudrey, Viscount or Governor of the city, did not dare to go as far as Selby, and pass the river Ouse, without taking with him a numerous escort. It was dangerous for the Norman soldiers to leave their camp or their arms, for bands of insurgents, dispersing and immediately forming again, were continually harassing the bodies of troops on march, and even the garrison of York. Guillaume Malet (colleague of Hugues, son of Baudry), in command of that garrison, went so far as to declare in his despatches that, without prompt assistance, he would not answer for the safety of his post. This news being brought to King William's quarters excited great alarm. He himself departed in haste, and arrived before York at the moment when the citizens, leagued with the men of the level country, were besieging the Norman fortress. He attacked them vigorously, and with superior numbers, spared no one, says the chronicles, dispersed those whom he did not kill, and

Non-Circulating

CLIFFORD'S TOWER: The Keep of York Castle.

THE OLD BAILE: Site of the Keep of the Second Castle.

Opp. p. 55.

laid the foundations of a second castle, the erection and keeping of which he entrusted to his most intimate confidant, William, son of Osbert, his Seneschal, and Marshal for both Normandy and England."

The site of the former of these buildings is indicated by a ruin known as Clifford's Tower. This tower is supposed to have been the keep of the

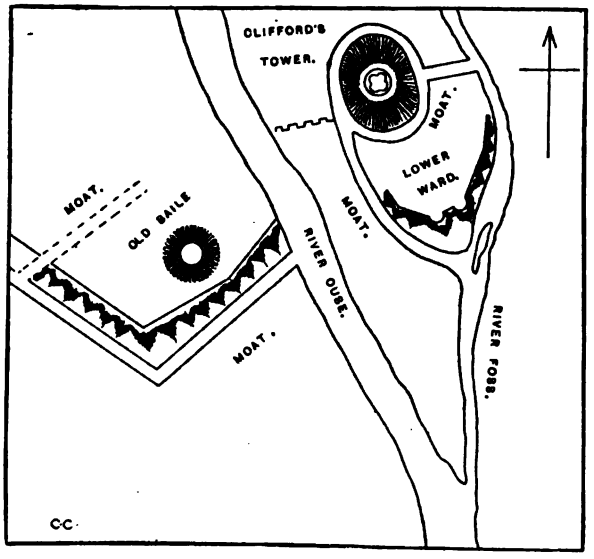

Fig. 12.

castle, which was a structure of very pretentious proportions.[1] The site of the other is marked by the Baile Hill on the opposite side of the river. The building which stood here has wholly disappeared.[2]

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[1] The date of Clifford's Tower has been fixed, by some authorities, as late as the early part of the thirteenth century.

[2] Norman spear-heads have been found in this mound.

A view of these two positions from any such point as the New Walk, immediately below the Skeldergate Bridge, or from the top of Clifford's Tower, will evidence what a complete command these castles had of any foe approaching York by the river. It has been conjectured that the Baile Hill, and the mound on which Clifford's Tower stands, were originally constructed by the Romans, and that they mark the site of fortifications built by the legionary soldiers for the protection of Eburacum.

Some say that Clifford's Tower received its name from Lord Clifford, one of the first Governors or Wardens appointed by the Conqueror; others, that it derived its name from Robert de Clifford, who, in 1311, built the square tower against the original gate.

In a paper, entitled "The Defences of York", included in *The Yorkshire Archæological Journal* (vol. 1875-6), G. T. Clark, Esq., gives a masterly description of this old keep. My apology for quoting so largely from this pamphlet is, that I esteem it the most concise and perfect account of the defences of York I have met with. I have tested it in almost all its details, and have found it unfailingly correct. Were it reprinted, it would be eagerly sought for.

Mr. Clark says: "The Castle Hill had, until recently, its proper ditch, fed from the Foss, and isolating it from the lower ward, now disfigured by the Assize Courts and prisons, but which also had its ditches, of which the Foss formed, and does stil form, a part. The mound, wholly artificial, is placed

120 yards from the Ouse, is at least 50 ft. high, above 100 ft. diameter at the top, and had a very steep slope. The ditch around it was 50 ft. broad, and of the depth of the communicating river.

"The annexed lower and larger area, of horseshoe form, was about 170 yards in breadth, where it rested upon the ditch of the mound, and projected 125 yards from thence to the Foss,[1] its defence on the north, east, and south sides, while to the west was its own ditch and that of the mound. Thus the whole work was an oval of above 550 yards by 170 yards, within its ditches, having the mound at one end and the lower court at the other, each with its proper ditch, and a cross ditch common to the two, a very common arrangement in the military earthworks of England and Normandy, though not often on so large a scale.[2]

"The keep is a very remarkable structure, and the only English example of the kind. In plan it is quatrefoil, each foil having an exterior radius of 22 ft., and walls 9 ft. 6 in. thick, and 31 ft. high to the rampart walk. The diameter, measured across the centre of the foils, is 79 ft., and at their intersection 62 ft. Internally, these dimensions are 60 ft. and 43 ft., the acute angles, at which the curves would meet, being cut off.

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[1] At the time of Henry VIII there were five ruined towers stil standing. (Leland.)

[2] Paper by G. T. Clark, Esq., in *The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*, 1875-6 (vol. iv), p. 15.

"The entrance is on the south-east, between two of the foils, and is placed in a gate-house 21 ft. broad and of 11 ft. projection, having walls 3 ft. 6 in. thick. There is some reason to regard this gate-house as an early addition, and that the original entrance was a mere archway in the keep wall, at the junction of two of the foils, where it now

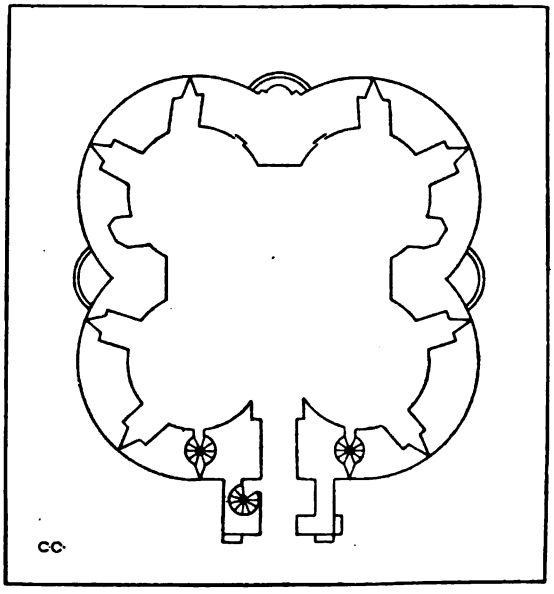

Fig. 13.

is, but masqued by the exterior addition. At present the outer entrance is by a portal into a small rectangular lobby, within which is the older gateway, acutely arched, and provided with an original portcullis, and a door behind it.

"Entering, it is seen that the basement floor is at the level of the top of the mound. At that level, in

each bay or foil, are two rather acutely pointed recesses, 5 ft. to 6 ft. broad, 6 ft. deep, each containing a loop. Besides these, in the walls, right and left, are two well staircases, 6 ft. diameter, ascending to the first floor and the ramparts. In the two further bays are two recessed fireplaces, 4 ft. deep, with semi-octagonal backs and vertical funnels. Opposite the entrance the junction of the two foils is pierced by two small doors, leading into mural garde-robes, with exterior shafts. In the right-hand bay, on entering, is the well, about 3 ft. 6 in. diameter, and descending 53 ft. to the river level. The smaller doorways throughout are shoulder-headed.

"That there was an upper floor is clear, but its details are obscure. It was probably a shell, or gallery of timber apartments, resting upon posts, and applied to the wall all round. The two stages thus formed were the basement, 18 ft. high, and the upper, 13 ft. In the centre was probably a small open court. This upper floor was reached by two well staircases only, but two other staircases, hollowed in the junction of the quatrefoils, led from thence to the ramparts, which thus had four approaches, and could be manned rapidly. In the other junction are two small mural garde-robes above those already mentioned. The walls are recessed as below, some of the recesses containing loops, others small pointed windows, having an exterior hood or drip. There are no fireplaces on this floor.

"The room above the entrance, entered by one of the well stairs from below, is the chapel. It is 15 ft. by 14 ft., entered near the west end, is vaulted, and has against its wall a handsome arcade of lancet arches springing from wall shafts in the Early English style, with a band of well-cut dog-tooth ornament. In the north wall, near the east end, is a plain square locker. This oratory serves as a portcullis chamber. . . . An attempt has been made to construct an independent staircase, of which the lower part, 6 ft. diameter, remains, and bears a decorated character.

"At the first floor level, outside the walls, three of the internal angles, formed by the junction of the quatrefoils, are occupied by segmental turrets resting on corbels, and rising to form part of the battlements. Two of these contain the well stairs; in the third are the upper garde-robes, and above them two others at the rampart level, six in all. These bartizans are original, and give a peculiar character to the structure.

"Over the portal are the arms of Charles II, and in a compartment immediately below, on the same stone, were those of Clifford, now defaced.

"Originally, a steep flight of stone steps descended the mound from the portal, and ended at a high and steep drawbridge, which communicated with the lower ward.

"The walls of the keep are faced with excellent ashlar, and the foundations have been ascertained to

descend from 6 ft. to 7 ft., which is by no means always the case with these shell keeps."[1]

> "Shade of departed power!
> Skeleton of unfleshed humanity!
> The chronicle were welcome, that should call
> Into the compass of distinct regard,
> The toils and struggles of thy infancy."

The other mound is known as Vetus Ballium, or Old Baile, even in the earliest records, a designation which simply indicates that it marks the site of a place of security.

The Baile Hill is a rather smaller mound than the Castle Hill, but of the same pattern. It is about 70 ft. diameter at the top, and is placed 100 yards from the Ouse. Like the other mound, it had a ditch, "now filled up and traversed by the later defences, and that this ditch surrounded the hill, and was fed from the Ouse, is clear from the evidence of Leland, and from the depression in the later wall, where it crosses the line of the ditch in order to rest upon the slope of the mound. The Baile had also its lower appendages at the western side, traces of the ditch of which are even now visible. Like the Castle Hill, its base is about 40 ft. above the river, and it is placed upon a sort of natural ridge, known as Bishop's Hill, which is continued outside the walls, and which was commanded by the mound."[2]

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[1] Paper by G. T. Clark, Esq., in *The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*, 1875-6 (vol. iv), pp. 37 and 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Overawed as the people of York must have been by these castles, it is not surprising to hear of determined rebellion against the new rule, "for if there be any point in English history on which all historians concur, it is the extreme and bitter enmity with which the native races of England regarded the Normans."[1]

A determined effort to break away from submission to William was rendered possible, and almost successful, by the appearance of a large body of Danes in the Humber, in the autumn of 1069.

"It was in the interval between the two feasts of the Virgin Mary, . . . that the sons of King Sweyn, his brother Osbiorn, and five other Danish chiefs of high rank, landed in England. Having been repulsed successfully from Dover, Sandwich, and Norwich, they turned northward, and entered the mouth of the Humber, as their forefathers had done.

"As soon as their approach was rumoured in the surrounding places, on all sides the ancient chiefs of the English race, and all the English in a body, quitted the towns, the houses, and the fields, to join and fraternise with them.

"The Saxons placed themselves in the van, and the Danes formed the main body. In this order they marched upon York, some on horseback and some on foot (says *The Saxon Chronicle*), full of joy and of hope. Messengers were sent on before them to inform the citizens that their deliverance was

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[1] *The Norman People*, p. 90.

approaching, and the town was soon invested on all sides. On the eighth day of the siege, the Normans who guarded the castles, fearing that the neighbouring houses would furnish the assailants with material for filling up the trenches, set fire to them. The conflagration rapidly spread; and it was under cover of the confusion caused by the flames that the insurgents and their auxiliaries, aided by the inhabitants, penetrated into the town and compelled the foreigners to shut themselves up in their citadels. The same day the two citadels were carried by assault. There perished in this great combat some thousands of the men of France, as they are termed in the English Chronicles. Waltheof (the son[1] of Siward), placed in ambuscade at one of the castle gates, killed with his own hand, by redoubled strokes of his battle-axe, many of the flying Normans.

"The victors granted their lives to the two commandants of York, Gilbert De Gand and William Malet, to the wife and children of the latter, and to a few others who were carried on board the Danish fleet. They totally destroyed the fortifications built by the foreigner."[2]

Largely owing to the treachery of the Danes, William, after a siege of six months, recovered the city, and, with ruthless ferocity, laid it in ruins, and desolated the whole country with fire and sword from York to Durham. He "burned the crops in the fields, as well as the towns and the hamlets,

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[1] His youngest son. [2] Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i, p. 220.

and butchered the cattle as pitilessly as he did the men. . . . From the Humber to the Tyne, there remained not a piece of cultivated land, not a single inhabited village. They say that between York and the Eastern Sea every living thing was put to death, both man and beast, excepting only those who took refuge in the Church of St. John the Archbishop at Beverley."[1]

It is related that William carried this frenzied but methodical devastation to such a pitch that for "nine years after neither plough nor spade was put into the ground".[2] If the old historians are to be trusted, the much lauded Norman William appears as a destroyer whose memory is rendered abhorrent by a most wanton shedding of blood, even when every extenuation of his merciless deeds is granted because of the barbarism of his times.

Under the Normans an altogether new military *régime* was introduced. The Norman conquest introduced into Britain the feudal system, by which "every owner of land was bound to give to the King, in exchange for his possessions, a certain number of days' military service in each year".

These landowners were, of course, Normans; and their trained retainers, at least, originally, would be Normans, too. "The position of a Norman pro-

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[1] Thierry's *Norman Conquest.* See also *Domesday*, tom. i, fol. 298, for decrease in population of York since the time of Edward the Confessor.

[2] Drake. With perfect fidelity to historic records, Kingsley describes the massacre in *Hereward the Wake*, chap. xxv.

prietor was, from the first, no bed of roses. He was surrounded by a native tenantry and population, which was willing (if the opportunity had been offered) to rend him limb from limb, and to assassinate his wife and children. He had to attend the call of his feudal superior with a body of disciplined soldiers, and that call might occur at any moment. He could not trust his tenantry or other natives. If armed, they would have taken his life. What, then, was the remedy? There was but one—the settlement of a body of Norman retainers on his estate."[1]

In these Norman days, as in the period preceding them, there was no standing army. Immense masses of armed men could always, and with rapidity, be called together, but they were constantly disbanded when the occasion which summoned them was over.

The feudal system finds an illustration in an event which transpired in connection with York in the reign of Stephen, 1135-1154. This, however, we must reserve for another chapter.

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[1] *The Norman People*, p. 89.

CHAPTER II.

The Battle of the Standard.

THE battle which was fought near Northallerton, August 22nd, 1138, is known as the Battle of the Standard, owing to the fact that the centre of the position held by the Anglo-Norman defenders of the northern counties was occupied by a waggon-like car, on which was mounted a ship-mast from which floated three banners, respectively bearing the revered symbols of the patron saints of York, Beverley, and Ripon, the whole being surmounted by a crucifix and a silver box containing the consecrated wafer of the Blessed Sacrament, according to the rites of the Church.

Henry I (1100-1135), the second and last son of the Conqueror to wear the English crown, had no male issue to succeed him, his heir, who bore the name of his illustrious grandsire, having been drowned in the disaster of the *White Ship* in 1120.

"The bark that held a Prince went down,
The sweeping waves rolled on;
But what was England's glorious crown
To him that wept a son?
He lived—for life may long be borne
Ere sorrow breaks its chain;
Why comes not death to those who mourn?
He never smiled again!"

Seven years after the death of his son, Henry endeavoured to secure the throne for his daughter Maud, who was, at that time, the widow of Henry V, Emperor of Germany, and who subsequently married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. This effort on the part of the English king to keep the succession to the throne within his own family is thus narrated in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* :—

"This year, at Christmas, King Henry held his court at Windsor, and David, King of Scotland, was there, and all the head men of England, both clergy and laity. And the King caused the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and all the thanes who were present, to swear to place England and Normandy, at his death, in the hands of his daughter, the princess who had been the wife of the Emperor of Saxony."

Within ten years after this event, the clever and designing Henry was carried off through gluttony,[1] but the ex-Empress, in spite of her father's precautions, was not permitted to assume the position of English sovereign. Her cousin Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of the Norman William, was the most powerful noble in England, and, ignoring the vow of fidelity to Maud, which he had taken in common with the other nobles, he claimed the crown and readily secured it.

There were several facts which tended to bring Stephen, at first, almost universal support. In the first place, the martial spirit was never stronger in

[1] Rapin.

England than at this time, and the barons desired that a military leader, not a woman, should occupy the throne. Again, Stephen was the first prince of royal blood, and popular among almost all classes of the people. Further, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, the aspirant's brother, gained for him the sympathy of the clergy.

It was to be expected that there would be some opposition shown towards Stephen, and that some would even take up arms in defence of the cause of Maud. The first to move in her behalf was her uncle, David of Scotland. Thrice did he enter the northern counties, devastation and slaughter marking right and left his line of march. It is said that on his third incursion he nearly reached the very gates of York, and thus again the city was called to play a prominent part in the martial story of the nation.

King Stephen was in the South, embarrassed by the premonitions of civil war excited by the demands of Maud, when he learned that David was ravaging the North, thus endeavouring, in barbaric fashion, to emphasize the justice of the same cause.

Notwithstanding his difficult position, Stephen despatched Bernard de Baliol with a force—small, but all he could spare—to assist the defence of his northern subjects.

Nothing could be more admirable as a faithful discharge of duty than the energy and courage displayed by Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, whom Stephen had appointed Lord Lieutenant of

the North. "He was carried about on a couch or litter, wherever he was required. He did everything in his power to excite the spirit of the North. He sent the priests with crosses and banners and relics through the parishes to arouse the inhabitants. He gathered together, with great speed and labour, the great barons of the district, allaying their jealousies and fears, and an army was soon collected."[1]

Prominent among the names of barons who became associated for the general good, in response to the appeal of the Archbishop, are those of William, Earl of Albemarle, Walter de Gaunt, Robert de Ferrars, William de Percy, Robert de Brus, Roger de Mowbray, Ilbert de Lacy, Walter L'Espec, and William Peverel.

The common people were not less prompt or determined than the barons to attempt to drive the forces of Scotland back to their own country. It would not have been surprising if these Saxons of the North, whose spirits were not yet quite broken by Norman rule, had shown some disposition to join the Scottish invaders. These possible allies, however, were estranged from David, and made his bitterest foes by the Scots themselves. Such were the frightful atrocities inflicted upon the country, between York and the border, by the heterogeneous army of Scotland, that even the peasants were easily aroused, by the appeals of Thurstan, the Archbishop, to confront, in the stern array of battle, the savage

[1] Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, vol. i, p. 198.

hordes which had desolated their country. One historian writes :—

"The Norman chiefs of the North, and especially the Archbishop of York, Toustan, or Thurstan, took advantage of the rumour of these barbarities, spread, perhaps, in an imperfect or an exaggerated manner, to prejudice the minds of the Saxon inhabitants of the banks of the Humber against the natural influence over their resolves, which the interests of the common cause of all such as were hostile to the Norman king were so well calculated to excite. The better, therefore, to determine these subjects of King Stephen to march under their conduct against the King of Scotland, the Normans strove to reawaken the old national superstitions. They invoked the saints of the English race, whom they had once so contemptuously inveighed against, and turned these ancient saints into feigned generalissimos of the army."

The standards of these saints, "which, since the Conquest, could scarcely have seen the light, were brought forth from the dust of the churches"[1] to do service in the field.

These three elements, the auxiliaries sent by King Stephen, the northern barons and their retainers, and the Saxon peasantry, assembled at Thirsk, and, by a common purpose and the master-mind of the Archbishop, were welded into a compact and victorious army.

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[1] Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, Hazlitt's ed., vol. ii, p. 11.

They came upon the enemy about three miles from Northallerton. On the supposition, already referred to, that David had penetrated as far as York, it is evident that, for some reason, he had commenced a retrograde movement towards Scotland.

Both sides prepared for battle. There were some border barons present, who recognised allegiance to David as well as to Stephen, and these praiseworthily tried to effect a reconciliation without an appeal to arms. One of these, Robert de Brus, approached the King when he was on the point of giving the signal of attack, and urged him, as he valued his crown, not to fight.

This address appeared to make a strong impression upon the King, but his nephew, William, exclaimed, impatiently, "This is a traitor's speech!"

At this, Robert de Brus set spurs to his horse, and galloped towards the Norman encampment. Then the Highlanders who surrounded the Scottish King, all raising their voices at once, shouted the ancient name of the country, "Albyn! Albyn!" This was the signal for the battle.[1]

The conflict was short but sharp. The sacred standard was gallantly defended for two hours against the ferocious onslaughts of the men of Galloway, or the tremendous cavalry charges of Henry, the Scottish Prince. Indeed, never did even Moslems enter battle, more eagerly hoping to die, with

[1] Two paragraphs adapted from Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii, p. 14.

their swords upraised against infidels, so that thereby they might enter heaven, than did the troops, marshalled by Archbishop Thurstan, welcome death in conflict with the Scots at Northallerton; for absolution had been pronounced upon the assembled hosts, and an immediate entrance into paradise promised to all who should fall in the fight. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Anglo-Norman line proved itself impenetrable. Their archers, whose arrows "darkened the air like a cloud of mist", made terrible havoc among the Scotch forces, especially among those who disdained armour, and rushed to battle, spear in hand, only partially dressed in the ancient plaid and kilt.

The boastful and merciless invaders were completely repulsed, over ten thousand of their number lay in mangled heaps of slain, and the demoralised remnant fled to Carlisle.

Archbishop Thurstan was too feeble to accompany the troops he had so successfully raised. He *would* have been with them, had not "the barons insisted upon his absence. His suffragan, the Bishop of Orkney, the archdeacons, and the clergy were on the field to bid the God of battles go forth with their compatriots to the fight, and to minister consolation to the dying. The aged prelate was thinking all the while of those whom he could not see; he was praying for them with bitter tears, and commending them and their arms to the Lord, when the welcome news arrived of the victory that had been won. He might well be satisfied with his own per-

sonal exertions in securing it, for he had certainly saved the North of England."[1]

This event is commemorated by a coloured window in the Guildhall of the city. The window is thus officially described: "In the centre stands Thurstan, the Archbishop, who in this emergency had been appointed lieutenant in the North by King Stephen, and who, in spite of his age and infirmities, had greatly exerted himself to animate the spirit of the barons, and to encourage them to make a stout resistance. He holds in his right hand a banner (probably taken from the cathedral), which on this occasion he entrusted to their care. To his right (in a scarlet cloak) is William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle and Lord of Holderness, who, as the noble of highest rank present, is supposed to have the nominal command of the forces assembled. With him appears Roger de Mowbray, who, though still a boy, had been brought to the army with the vassals of his great estates. Next to them is Bernard de Baliol, who commanded the small force which was all that Stephen could spare for the defence of his northern subjects. His hand presses the hilt of his sword as he promises his best assistance. On the opposite side is Walter Espec, a baron of very extraordinary strength and stature, who, from his long experience in the art of war, joined to a most amiable and venerable character, was revered as a father and obeyed as a general by

[1] Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, vol. i, p. 199.

the whole army. He is in the act of extending his right hand towards the standard, which he vows to defend. More to the front is Gilbert de Lacy, of Pontefract, placing his sword at the service of the King's representative; and behind is William de Percy, with his sword upraised."

Relics of this bloody contest have been found in excavating Scot Pit Lane, Northallerton, some of which are in the hands of private persons there.

CHAPTER III.

The Knights Templar: The Crusades.—Rise of the Templars.—Origin of their Name.—English Templars.—Their Possessions.—Castle Mills and the Mowbrays.—Copmanthorpe.—Conynge Street.—Service of the Templars.

> "Those holy fields,
> Over whose acres walk'd those blesséd feet,
> Which, *eighteen* hundred years ago, were nailed
> For our advantage, on the bitter cross,"[1]

Will ever remain invested with a fascination for the devout mind, even when modern progress shall have abolished those primitive social conditions, and effaced those natural configurations of the land, which link Palestine so closely, at the present day, to a distant, eventful, and sacred past.

How powerfully this fascination operated upon the minds of men seven hundred years ago the Crusades testify! There can be no doubt that large numbers of men joined the Crusades from a mere love of war and military display and other kindred motives; but the majority of the knights and soldiers who served in those wars were carried away by a sincere, though mistaken, religious enthusiasm.

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[1] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act i, Scene 1.

One of the most powerful orders called into existence by the zeal of the Crusaders for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre and the protection of Christian

Fig. 14.—A KNIGHT TEMPLAR.[1]

pilgrims, was one that received recognition from Pope Honorius II in 1128, and for which Saint

[1] The representation of a Knight Templar here given is reproduced from *Monastici Anglicani*, by Dodsworth and Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 517.

Bernard of Clairvaux drew up a code of regulations of monastic severity. The Order was originated in Jerusalem by nine knights, and the headquarters were first established in a house near the Temple of the Jews. From this circumstance they took the name *Templars*, or *Knights Templar*. They have also been known as the *Red Cross Knights*, owing to the fact that Pope Eugenius III, in 1146, ordered that they should wear a blood-red cross on the breast of the white mantle[1] which they wore over their armour by the order of Pope Honorius II. Thus Spenser speaks, in his *Faerie Queen*, of the knight:—

> "And on his brest a bloodie crosse he bore,
> The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
> For whose sweet sake that glorious badge he wore,
> And dead, as living, ever him adored;
> Upon his shield the like was also scor'd."

The founders of the Order were Frenchmen, but their ranks were soon strengthened by English knights. Hugo de Payens, one of the original founders, visited England in the reign of Henry I (1100-1135), and so successful was he in enlisting the sympathies of the English in the cause of the Holy Land, that he led from our shores to the East three hundred knights and their retainers.

It was not possible for such a wave of religious and military enthusiasm to sweep over the kingdom,

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[1] On occasions of active warfare they wore a scarlet mantle, with a white cross displayed on the right shoulder.

and the martial North to remain unaffected. Few, if any, of the northern feudal lords withheld their patronage from the Templars. Many, who did not enroll themselves in the brotherhood, endowed the warrior monks with property, and some conferred upon them the double benefit of serving valiantly under the Red Cross abroad, whilst making grants of lands at home towards the maintenance of the Order.

The Templars were first called *The Poor of the Holy City*, or *The Poor Soldiers of Christ*, and, as indicative of their poverty, their two principal promoters, Hugo de Paynes and Godefroi de Saint Omer, had engraven on their seal the figure of two men on one horse. But, in the manner already indicated, they gradually acquired enormous wealth.[1]

The list of their possessions in Yorkshire is a very long one, and shows that their revenue from the county was considerable, and drawn from sources of remarkable variety. In fact, in Yorkshire the Templars "were more liberally patronised and more strongly posted than in any other part of England".[2] Their property in York and the vicinity was not

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[1] In London they had "a great house, and Church on the Thames". The church was dedicated by Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1185. On the suppression of the Templars, the property was granted to the students of law, first as tenants of the Hospitallers, to whom the property was given, and afterwards, when the Hospitallers were suppressed, as tenants of the Crown.

[2] Wheater, *Templenewsam.*

proportionate to their acquisitions in the county generally, and can be very briefly described.

It would never occur to anyone passing over the Castle Mills Bridge, at the bottom of Fishergate, that this spot was once a rendezvous of the Knights of the Red Cross. The Castle Mills, which formerly stood here, were flour-mills worked by the waters of the river Foss. They were very ancient,[1] and were given to the Templars by Roger de Mowbray, who also served in the Holy Land during the Second Crusade. This gift accords with the reputed generosity of the Mowbray family. "The greatest patrons of the Order were the warlike Mowbrays. Their donations in Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire were simply magnificent. Both the Knight Hospitallers and Knight Templars held themselves most bound, above all their benefactors, to Roger de Mowbray, to whose heirs and descendants they granted peculiar privileges."[2]

While in the possession of the Templars, the Castle Mills embraced a religious house and a Cavalry Depôt, as well as a warehouse and mart for corn.

The Templars had also a house, chapel, and lands at Copmanthorpe, a village a short distance S.W. of York, where their memory is still perpetuated by the names "Temple Fields", "Temple Garth". These fields lie on the right of the railway station approaching York. Not a vestige of

[1] See Drake.

[2] Wheater, *Templenewsam.*

the Templar buildings is left standing, but some of the ancient stones are preserved by the residents, chiefly employed in garden decoration. Nearly fifty years ago, some farm buildings were taken down in the village, when many such stones were found built into the foundations.

Besides the Castle Mills, and the property at Copmanthorpe, the Templars owned certain houses in Coney[1] Street, and two or three smaller holdings in the neighbourhood.

Judged merely from a military point of view, the Templars rendered splendid service. "They took the lead in every crusade. They were the first to carry the standard of the cross into the Moslem vanguard.

> "'Chieftains, lead on! our hearts beat high,
> Lead on to Salem's towers!
> Who would not deem it bliss to die
> Slain in a cause like ours?
> The brave who sleep in soil of thine
> Die not entombed, but shrin'd, O Palestine.'

"The most dashing exploits were theirs: they could exhibit the most patient endurance. There were few places of note in Palestine and the East with which the Templars were not associated for some adventurous feat, or some reverse heroically borne."[2]

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[1] Coney is an abbreviation of *Conynge*, a Saxon word, signifying "King". Coney Street is the King Street of York.

[2] Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, vol. i, p. 370.

No special record of the conduct of the Templars of York and the county, while resident in the East, has been preserved. "We have no means of distinguishing them from the general body of soldiers of the Cross in Palestine, and the Templars could not be founders of families in which ancestral traditions of their exploits might have been preserved."[1]

The Knights Templar were suppressed early in the fourteenth century, a story we cannot anticipate here.[2]

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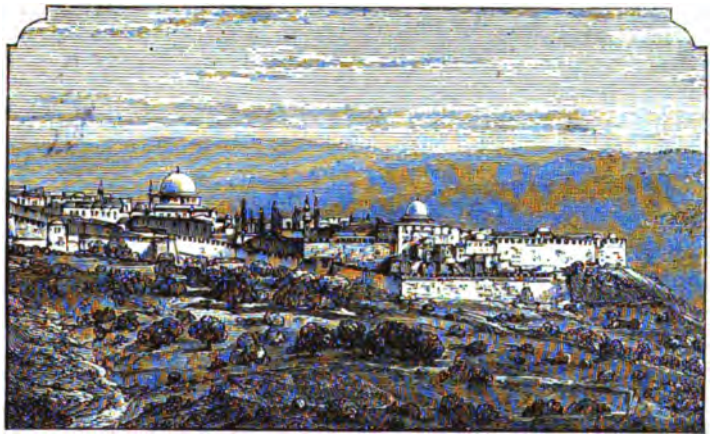
[1] Kenrick, *Knights Templar of Yorkshire.*

[2] See p. 91.



JERUSALEM: THE TEMPLARS' FIRST HEADQUARTERS.

CHAPTER IV.

The City Defences: The Oldest Masonry.—Under Henry I.—Walls on the Foss Islands Road.—The Bars.

THE activity of the Normans, in maintaining the fortifications of the city, has thus been summarised in *The Yorkshire Archæological Journal*[1]:—"With the Norman Conquest began a new period with the defences of York. When these were executed, whether they were commenced by the Conqueror, or by his immediate successors, is uncertain, and a problem only to be solved, if at all, by a careful study of what remains of the mediæval masonry. These works, which display fragments of almost every age from the end of the eleventh or the commencement of the twelfth century, down to the present day, have, as yet, been found to exhibit no masonry which can be attributed to an earlier date than the reign of William, if, indeed, there be any as early."

The walls and fortifications of York must have been in a fair state of defence in the reign of Henry I (1100-1135), for we learn that the gates and

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[1] G. T. Clark, Esq., 1874.

posterns of the city were closed at 9 P.M. and opened at 4 A.M., and every night four men kept watch at each of these points, "for the safeguard of the city".

Norman work can be very easily traced in the walls and fortifications. Anyone paying the slightest attention to the walls between Walmgate Bar and the Foss Islands, will notice that the earthwork, upon which the wall is built, has been in part removed, and that the foundations are to some extent laid bare. These foundations are built in the form of irregular arches, and have been pronounced to be the work of Norman builders.

Again, though each Bar is the composite production of widely different periods, yet the oldest portions—the core, or central parts—in each case, are said to be the original Norman gate.

THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Henry II: Cupidity of his Sons.—Scotland in league with Henry's Sons. — Homage of William the Lion. Richard I: The Slaughter of the Jews in Clifford's Tower.

WHEN Henry II (1154-1189) came to the throne his dominions were extensive, and he seemed to have a brilliant career before him, but his reign proved such a troubled one, that in the hour of death he cried, "Cursed be the day when I was born! The curse of God be on the sons I leave behind me!"

Henry held, besides other possessions, half of the fair provinces of France, but these only excited the cupidity of his sons, who at last entered into war with their father. Malcolm, King of Scotland, and his successor, William the Lion, encouraged these attempts to wrest from Henry his French domains, but both were compelled to withdraw from these

complications and swear allegiance to the English king. William the Lion was surprised and taken prisoner near Alnwick Castle in 1174. The royal prisoner was brought to York, where, in the presence of his ecclesiastics and men of war, who had been summoned for the occasion, he acknowledged his kingdom a fief, and himself a vassal of the English Crown. As a token of his surrender, he left his coat of mail, spear, and saddle upon the high altar of York Minster.

A horrible tragedy was enacted within the walls of Clifford's Tower early in the reign of Richard I (1189-1199). At the coronation of Richard a rising against the Jews took place in London,[1] and in the following year the same intolerance manifested itself at York. So threatening was the attitude of the rioters, that the Jews fled to the castle, and were admitted by the Governor. The Governor subsequently went into the city, and, on his return, found, to his dismay, that the Jews had taken possession of the keep, and refused to admit him. The poor hunted creatures thought he had gone to the city in order to betray them to their enemies, and in their panic imagined that they could defend themselves in this way. This hasty and unwise pro-

[1] The Jews appear to have settled in England as early as the ninth century. Witlaf of Mercia, about 833, granted by charter certain lands to the monks of Croyland. This charter distinguishes between possessions which had come to the monks through Christians, and those which had been bestowed on them by Jews. *Ingulphus*, ed. Birch, *Lat.*, p. 16.

ceeding drove the citizens wild with rage,[1] and they laid siege to the place. The Jews, losing all hope, preferred to die by their own hands rather than surrender to the maddened populace. By self-destruction, and a massacre which followed the capture of the stronghold, it is estimated that fifteen hundred men, women, and children perished. It is related that the well of the keep was choked with the bodies of the murdered people, the massacre thus being the "prototype of the awful tragedy enacted in 1857 at Cawnpore".

This story is associated with the military annals of the city in that the High Sheriff of the county, Randal de Glanville, issued the writ *posse comitatus*, in order to force the Jews to surrender.

William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, was appointed by the King, who was *en route* for the Crusades, to inquire into the outrage. The citizens were punished by fine, and all soldiers concerned in the massacre were dismissed from the King's service.

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[1] For a vivid picture of how Jews were regarded by both Saxons and Normans, see Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*.

CHAPTER II.

The Defences of the City: Upper Structure on Micklegate Bar.—Tax granted by Henry III.—The Wall of St. Mary's Abbey.—The Defences in the reign of Edward I.—The Mandamus of Edward II.—The Reconstruction of the Tower on Baile Hill.—Order of Edward III for the Restoration of the Walls.—Upper Structures on the Bars.

THIS period was one of sustained activity in maintaining the defences of the city.

A superstructure, important in its results, was added at this time to one, at least, of the Bars. "From a record in the Pipe Office, it appears that in the eighth year of the reign of Richard I (1189-1199), Benedict FitzEngelram gave half-a-mark for licence to build a certain house upon Micklegate Bar, and paid sixpence annual rent for having it hereditary. This possibly fixes the first idea of a superstructure to these defences, which, before this period, might be what Fishergate now is, a mere gate."[1]

Henry III (1216-1272) granted a patent for taking certain tolls in specie of goods, etc., coming to be sold at York, towards the reparation of the walls and fortifications of the city.[2]

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[1] Lockwood and Cates, p. 20.

[2] Drake, p. 261.

To this order we may also "attribute the restoration of Clifford's Tower, which exhibits much of the style adopted at this period".[1]

The ancient abbey, founded by the warlike Earl Siward, and dedicated to St. Olave, the Danish martyr-king, has already been referred to. The monks of this abbey and the citizens lived upon very bad terms with each other, and the peace was broken by "continual bickerings". In 1262 "an attempt was made by the citizens to destroy the abbey, and much plundering and slaughter ensued".[2] In consequence of this outburst of violence, the Abbot of St. Mary's, Simon de Warwic, was allowed by King Henry to surround the abbey property with a wall. This wall was completed in 1266, and "formed, with its ditch, a considerable outwork to the defences of the city", and has greatly conduced to the preservation of the Multangular Tower.[1]

To this enclosure there were two entrances, one between the river and the church of St. Olave, and another near Bootham Bar. The latter is still standing. Remnants of this singular wall may also be seen in Marygate, and behind the houses on the left-hand side of Bootham, leaving the city by Bootham Bar.

The long-sustained conflict with Scotland during the reigns of Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III was the primary cause of the extraordinary vigilance displayed in maintaining the defences of

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[1] Lockwood and Cates, p. 21. [2] Drake, p. 575.

York, throughout the latter part of the thirteenth and almost the whole of the fourteenth century.

The work designed by Henry III appears to have been completed, or the walls were again rebuilt, about 1280, in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), and there can be no doubt that the work then accomplished decided the character and extent of the walls as they appear to-day, although their whole circumference has undergone rebuilding and repairs, more or less extensive at various periods, since that time.

In 1311, Edward II (1307-1327) ordered the walls to be put in a complete state of defence. In order to accomplish these repairs, the King issued a mandamus, strictly commanding the Dean and Chapter of York, who had presumed to interfere with the collecting of the tollage granted by Henry III, not to hinder the gathering of the taxes necessary for the carrying out of the work.[1]

At the close of this reign, William de Melton, the Archbishop, was compelled to reconstruct the tower on Baile Hill, but he performed his task unwillingly and under protest, and consequently his work was of the most unenduring character. Every vestige of this erection has disappeared, and nothing of a military character has since marked the place. It is at present crowned with a group of trees, first planted in 1726 by a tenant of the Corporation.[2]

The first year of the reign of Edward III (1327-

[1] Drake (Appendix).

[2] See opp. p. 55.

1377) was marked by another invasion by the Scots. The King issued the following order for the fortifications to be put into a complete state of repair :—

"The King to his well-beloved the Mayor and Bailiffs of his City of York, greeting:

"We strictly command and charge you, upon your faith and allegiance, and of the forfeiture of everything you can forfeit to us, immediately on sight of these presents, without excuse or delay, to inspect and overlook your Walls, Ditches, and Towers, and the Ammunition proper for the defence of the City: taking with you such of our faithful servants as will be chosen for this purpose, and to take such orders for its defence that no dangers can happen to the City by neglect of such safeguards.

"And we by these presents give you full power and authority to distrain and compel all and singular holders of houses or rents in the said city; or merchants or strangers inhabiting the same, by the seizure of their bodies or their goods, to be aiding toward the security of the Walls, Bulwarks, or Towers, as you in your discretion shall think fit to ordain, and for making other useful and necessary works about it, punishing all that are found to contradict and rebel against this order, by imprisonment or whatever other method you think fit.

"Dated July 15th, 1327."[1]

This order received the heartiest response, and the work was expeditiously and effectively carried out.

It is believed that the upper part of Micklegate Bar, at this time, ceased to be a dwelling, and was rebuilt so as to form part of the defences of the city. This superstructure led to a similar erection being made at later dates at Monk Bar, Walmgate Bar, and Bootham Bar.

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[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, ed. MDCCXXXIX, tom. II, par. ii, p. 192. The order is here given only in part.

MICKLEGATE BAR.

Opp. p. 90.

CHAPTER III.

The Suppression of the Knights Templar: Their Power and Arrogance.—Philip of France and Pope Clement V.—Templars seized in England.—Templars of the North.—Two Councils at York.—Decision concerning the Templars.—The Pope's Bull.—Templar Possessions Catalogued.—The Transfer of their Possessions.—The Offer of the Pope.—A Relic.—Effigies.

THE Templars reached the zenith of their fame in the reign of Henry III (1216-1272). They became so powerful that they usurped, to some extent, the prerogatives of the Church, the Sovereign, the barons, and the administrators of the law.

Even as early as the reign of Richard I (1189-1199) their arrogance had become proverbial. A certain preacher, whose boldness was tolerated because of his zeal in preaching for the Crusade, bade the King to get rid of his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which, he said, were the King's favourite daughters. "You advise me well", replied Richard, "and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my Prelates."

Their assumption made for them many enemies, and ultimately proved their ruin. Chiefly at the

instigation of Philip of France, who charged the Templars with apostacy from the true faith and the most heinous crimes, the Order was abolished by a Bull of Pope Clement V in 1312.

Determined opposition to the Order was first displayed on the Continent in 1307, and from this time to their dissolution they were treated with the utmost injustice and violence, many even dying under torture and at the stake.

In England, Edward II was reluctant to take steps towards their suppression. However, by the combined influence of the French King and the Pope, he was induced to have the Templars seized and their goods sequestered in January 1308.

The Templars of the North were brought together, and confined in York Castle, towards the close of 1309. Their names, which chiefly indicate a Yorkshire origin, were William de Grafton, Ralph de Roston, Thomas de Stannford, Henry de Kereby, Thomas de Belleby, Robert de Langton, William de la Fenne, Richard de Kesewyk, Stephen de Radenhalgh, Michael de Sowreby, Godfrey de Arches, John de Walpole, Ivo de Etton, Henry de Craven, Roger de Hugyndon, Henry de Rouclyf, Galfrid de Wylton, Walter de Gaddesby, Richard de Ripon, Thomas de Thresk, Richard de Shefeld, John de Ebreston, William de Midelton, Walter de Clifton, and Thomas Streche.[1]

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[1] Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 372.

Archbishop Greenfield, like his monarch, was reluctant to take proceedings against the Templars. He was, in fact, their "stern and uncompromising champion".[1] But, at the mandate of Pope Clement, a Provincial Council was held at York in May 1310. This powerful assembly of ecclesiastics came to no decision, and a second Council was held, which terminated on July 30th, 1311.

Although the charges brought against the Templars were not proved, it was decided that they should enter various monasteries of the diocese, and do penance for their errors!

Twelve months after, in accordance with the Bull of the Pope (April 1312), it was declared from the Episcopal Palace at Cawood, and in the churches of the province, that the Templars had ceased to exist, and that any person "dressing or conducting himself as a Templar" should be punished.

An inventory of the possessions of the Templars at the Castle Mills, and another of their possessions at Copmanthorpe, taken soon after the second Council at York, have been preserved.

The officials who made these inventories "appear to have had a busy day of it on the 1st December 1311, as they then took account of the goods and chattels in and about the mills by the Castle of York, and also seem to have performed the same office in the manors of Copmanthorpe, Temple Newsam,

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[1] J. G. and L. A. B. Waller, *Monumental Brasses*, under the date of 1315.

and Temple Hurst, though the first only is near York, the others being in the neighbourhood of Leeds and Snaith, at least fifteen miles apart, and quite as far from their headquarters.

"If diligence in the discharge of an odious office establishes any claim to approbation, these men may fairly challenge it, for they might have afforded a pattern to the Puritan sequestrators of whom Bishop Hall complains[1]; they diligently noted every worn-out robe, every cracked plate, and every broken-down cart, as well as the broad acres, the flocks and herds, and the crops, the Church furniture, the tables and boxes, and the brewing utensils."[2]

These inventories do not include arms. There can be no doubt that all armour, weapons, and horse-furniture were seized when the Templars themselves were imprisoned.

The various properties of the English Templars passed, by an Act of Parliament in 1324, chiefly into the hands of the Knights Hospitallers, or, as they are often called, the Knights of St. John, the Templars being each allowed a pittance out of their forfeited estates.

The Castle Mills, in the City of York, proved an exception to the operation of this Act. These

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[1] "There came the sequestrators to the palace .... to appraise all the goods that were in the house, which they executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures, out of their curious inventory."

[2] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1857, Pt. II, p. 519, where a complete copy of the inventories is given.

mills, upon the dissolution of the Templars, became the property of the Crown, and were known as the King's Mills. They were subsequently bestowed upon Sir Thomas Hesketh of Heslington, who gave them for the support of an hospital in that village. They afterwards passed into the hands of the Foss Navigation Company, and finally into the possession of the Corporation of the city, which body caused them to be taken down for the purpose of facilitating modern improvements.

Seven years after the suppression of the Templars, the Pope gave permission for those members of the Order who still remained in monasteries to take, if they were so disposed, the vows of the brotherhoods with which they were respectively residing. Within the diocese of York, only two are reported as accepting the Papal proposal. Robert de Langeton entered the convent of Gisburgh, and Henry de Kerby was admitted into the religious house at Selby.[1]

So passed away, after an existence of nearly two hundred years, this great military power, the victim of jealousy, hatred, and intrigue, without striking a blow on its own behalf, and without being permitted even the opportunity of a legal defence.

A relic of the Templars' Chapel at Castle Mills is to be seen in the lower room of the Hospitium, in the ground of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. It is a stone, about 12 in. long by 10 in., on which

[1] Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 376, note *f*.

a shield bearing a cross is cut. At present this stone is catalogued as 20 in the Early English section.

There is only one known effigy of a Templar in existence, and that represents John, Count de Dreux, in undress, buried in the church of St. Yvod de Braine, near Soissons, in France. The mail-clad effigies on the pavement of the Round Church of the Temple on the Thames Embankment do not represent Knights Templar, but "Associates of the Temple", persons only partially admitted to the privileges of the powerful Order.[1]

Fig. 15.—JOHN DE DREUX.[2]

Gent, in his *History of York*, describes a Templar effigy which used to exist in York Minster. He says: "Adjoining to the south-west pillar of the lantern, lies the effigy of a Knight Templar in remembrance of the ancient family of the Manleys, whose seat was not far from Whitby, having on his shield three eagles displayed on a bend, his body covered with armour, and his

[1] C. G. Addison, *The Temple Church*, p. 88; *Epochs of History*, p. 32; *Old and New London*, vol. i, p. 152.

[2] The illustration is taken from Bernard de Montfaucon's *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, as reproduced in F. W. Fairholt's *Costume in England*.

feet lying crosswise, as a token of his being engaged against the Infidels in the Holy Land." This monumental relic was removed when the nave was relaid by the Earl of Burlington in 1736.

Drake tells of a strange use to which the figure of a Templar was once put. One mile from Micklegate Bar without the city, on the opposite side of the road from Knavesmire, there is a piece of common land called Hob Moor. Drake says: "How long it has borne that appellation we know not; but the pasture-masters of Micklegate Ward, some years ago, had a mind to perpetuate it by placing an old statue on a pedestal, and putting underneath it this inscription:—

> "This statue long Hob's name has bore,
> Who was a Knight in days of yore,
> And gave this common to the Poor."

"The figure is no more than that of a Knight Templar of the family of Ross, as appears by his shield, and it was very probably dragged out of the ruin of some of our demolished monasteries."[1]

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[1] For an entertaining discussion of this effigy, see Robert Davies, F.S.A., *Walks through York*, pp. 97-99.

CHAPTER IV.

The Battle of Myton.

IN October 1319, the twelfth year of the reign of Edward II (1307-1327), there occurred, in connection with York, a quasi-military exploit of a most disastrous character.

The Scotch had possessed themselves of Berwick-upon-Tweed, to which place Edward laid siege, with all the forces at his disposal.

In order to draw off the English from the besieged town, a large contingent of Scotch troops under Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, crossed the border towards the west, and wasted all the country to the gates of York.

The King, hearing of this new predatory incursion, sent word to William de Melton, Archbishop of York, to raise the Militia, and punish these wily foes.

The Archbishop was joined in his dangerous adventure by John de Hotham, the Bishop of Ely, and Nicholas de Fleming, the Mayor of the city. Shopkeepers, husbandmen, labourers, grooms, and large numbers of priests, monks, friars, and other ecclesiastics, obeyed his summons to arms—in all numbering about 10,000 men.

The Scots, not caring to besiege York with its strong defences, and failing in their purpose to cause a diversion of the English army which lay before Berwick, commenced their march homewards. Very unwisely, the Archbishop determined to follow them, and, unluckily for him, his impromptu army overtook the experienced warriors of Scotland at Myton, near the confluence of the River Swale with the Ouse, about twelve miles from the city. It has been said:

> "In all the trade of war, no feat
> Is nobler than a brave retreat!"[1]

It would have been well if Archbishop Melton had conceived such an idea. But the desire for revenge burned in every breast, and retreat was not thought of for a moment.

The Scotch showed great tact in breaking up and assaulting the undisciplined host of York. By a feigned flight, they drew their pursuers into the toils of a strongly posted ambuscade. "'Tis a principle of war, that when you can use the lightning, 'tis better than cannon"; thus Napoleon emphasized the value of employing natural phenomena to the disadvantage of an enemy. The Scotch were wide-awake to every advantage their position offered. Noting the direction of the wind, they fired a number of haystacks, and rejoiced to see the blinding smoke drifting into the faces of the English. This was their golden opportunity of an

[1] Butler, *Hudibras.*

easy victory, and they secured it. Under cover of the smoke, they swooped down upon their would-be pursuers, and scattered them in every direction. The loss of the English amounted to between 3,000 and 4,000, of which 2,000 were drowned, the river here being both wide and deep.

Nicholas de Fleming, the Mayor, was among the slain. His body was brought from Myton, and found sepulchre at the church of St. Wilfrid. This church stood on a site between Lendal and Blake Street, and was so ancient as to be a rectory before the Norman Conquest. The building known as "Judges' Lodgings" in Lendal, stands upon part of the ancient burial-grounds. At the abolition of the church, the parish became united to that of St. Michael-le-Belfrey. "An endowment was given to the Church of St. Wilfrid, on condition that daily Mass should be said for the soul of Nicholas de Fleming. A forty days' indulgence was also granted to those parishioners who, being truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, should in a faithful mind say, in behalf of his soul, a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria."

The loss sustained by the Scotch on this occasion was very insignificant, and they "made their way homewards, carrying with them an immense booty. The Scots, in memory of their opponents,[1] gave to that contest, if such it may be called, the title of 'The White Battle'; and the English soldiers, in

[1] It is said that three hundred ecclesiastics perished.

bitter ridicule of the prowess of the clerical warriors, called that meeting and its debate 'The Chapter of Myton'."[1]

This event is commemorated by a window in the Guildhall of the city. The official description of the window is as follows:—

"In the middle portion is seen Nicholas Fleming and the armed citizens, ready to commence their march against the enemy. The Mayor holds in his right hand the bâton of military command, while the left grasps the hilt of his sword. Behind him, to his right, is the banner-bearer of the city, presumably a professional soldier of knightly rank, the Baron Fitzwalter having held the corresponding office in London. The banner itself has only the red cross of St. George, which represents the flag of England of that time. Behind the Mayor is a page carrying his shield, which is diapered only, and without heraldic bearings, though Fleming may very likely have been entitled to them. To the left is the alderman who has taken charge of the city for the time, and one of his brethren, who is too old for warfare; both are wishing the Mayor 'God speed!' To his right, and also behind the figures already mentioned, are the citizens, in full military equipment, waiting only for the word to march. In the lowest compartments are the shields of Sir Simon Warde, Sheriff of Yorkshire, King Edward II, and of England or St. George."

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[1] *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 403.

CHAPTER V.

Military Riots: English Forces at York.—Their Object.—John, Lord of Hainault.—York a Military Camp.—A Serious Quarrel.—Marriage of King Edward.—The Hainaulters again.—A Battle at Dawn.

IN the first year of the reign of Edward III (1327-1377) the English forces were assembled at York for the purpose of repelling their old foes of the North,[1] for a body of light cavalry, numbering twenty thousand men, under the leadership of Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, were ravaging the border counties, and had even forced their way far into Durham.

Edward invited the assistance of Lord John Beaumont, of Hainault, who responded, and came with his retainers to York.

It is estimated that for six weeks sixty thousand English, and upwards of two thousand foreigners, were quartered in the city and its suburbs.

Hollinshed relates that the Scotch, by the aid of partisans, and with the view of deriding English

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[1] For a summons by Edward III for all the gentry of Yorkshire to go against the Scots, see *Lansdowne MS.* 860, fol. 59.

valour, placed upon the door of the Minster some lines, which ran :—

"Long beards hartlesse, painted hoods witlesse,
Grie cotes gracelesse, make England thriftlesse."

This was a feeble joke, and the great display of England's martial strength at York so scared the Scots that they retired, and no blood was shed immediately between the two nations.

But matters were by no means peaceful within the great camp itself. The English troops and the foreigners did not agree, and very serious riots resulted. The Lincolnshire and Northampton archers seem to have suffered most severely, for three hundred of these "quivered warriors" were slain by the Hainaulters. In those days a church stood in Fossgate, dedicated to St. Clement, and there eighty of the Lincolnshire men were buried.[1] The Hainaulters were

Fig. 16.—YORK MINSTER.

[1] Leland, quoted by Drake, p. 103.

heartily glad to part from their English acquaintances, for the protection afforded them by the King barely saved them from the vengeance of the enraged English troops.

Nor was this the end of the quarrel. Edward celebrated, with great magnificence, the Christmas of 1328 in York, and, on the 24th of the following month, he was married in the Minster to Philippa of Hainault. The bride arrived in the city during the Christmas festivities, and was accompanied by her uncle, John of Hainault, and a numerous retinue. The presence of the Hainaulters was not welcome to the English, though they rejoiced in the marriage of their youthful king. The visitors were the first to give occasion for offence, and the outrageous character of their conduct clears the English of any charge that might be brought against them as to being eager to discover a pretext for a quarrel. The English challenged the Hainaulters to meet them in open fight, the result being that very early one morning, before the city had fairly awakened from its slumbers, the selected representatives of the disputants met, and a deadly struggle ensued. The figures seems incredibly large, but it is said that nearly 250 English fell in the contest, and nearly 700 Hainaulters were either slain or drowned in the river.

Such a narration can accomplish little good, unless it provokes devout gratitude that the improvement in the morals of both our civil and military life are now such as to render scenes of deadly riot almost an impossibility.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Disgrace of Myton Defeat was Retrieved: The Battle of Neville's Cross.

IN the autumn of the year 1346, David II of Scotland crossed the border with an invading army, while the English sovereign (Edward III) was absent from his kingdom fighting for the French Crown, and, as the consummation of his defiance to English arms, he fired the city of York, and then retired.

The good Queen Philippa was in York, and as in more peaceful times she showed great energy in encouraging her people in the manufacture of excellent cloths, so in this martial hour she proved herself equal to the requirements of the occasion.

Supported by the Archbishop, William la Zouche, and the powerful nobles of the North, she summoned a large army, which came upon the enemy at Neville's Cross,[1] near Durham. There can be little doubt the Queen remained in York, though the contrary has often been asserted.

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[1] The cross which was erected here to commemorate this battle is described in Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 120. This cross was broken down and defaced in the night, 1589. *Antiq. of Durham Abbey*, pp. 34-37.

The battle was fought on October 17th. The English archers wrought terrible execution among the Scottish forces, but the contest rapidly became a struggle, "hand to hand and foot to foot".

Soon the invaders were compelled to fall back. The Scottish king, surrounded by a handful of trusty friends, stood like a tiger at bay, even when his troops were breaking away in wild confusion, believing that he was slain. When he was wounded, and his sword had been hurled from his grasp, he resisted his opponents in a most primitive fashion. He wielded his mailed fist like a mace, and dealt Sir John Copeland, who had called upon him to surrender, a disfiguring blow upon the mouth. Sir John, however, secured his prize, and had the honour of delivering the royal captive to Philippa in York, who, in turn, marched him to London to present, in due course, to her husband.

Fully half of David's army was slaughtered, and a large number of his nobles were made prisoners like himself.

The disgrace of the defeat of Archbishop Melton, in the days of Edward II, at Myton, was thus retrieved, for not only did Archbishop Zouche command in person the second corps of Philippa's army, but the victorious troops also embraced a considerable number of the clergy of the York diocese.

A beautiful legend has been preserved concerning the co-operation of the monks of Durham with their brethren from York, on this occasion. We are

told that, following directions vouchsafed in a vision, the abbot and monks of Durham sought the field of battle, and, in the midst of the terrific conflict, they knelt, unarmed, in prayer for the success of Queen Philippa's troops. An ensign of St. Cuthbert, their patron saint, floated above them from the point of a slender spear. Around them on every side resounded the shouts of the victors, the cries of the vanquished, and the groans of the dying, mingled with the clash of arms. But no violence came near those kneeling monks—not even an arrow or bolt, by chance, struck into that consecrated praying group. And so they prayed, until the storm of the battle was hushed, and they could minister in peace to the spiritual needs of the dying —friend and foe.

The memory of Archbishop la Zouche is preserved by a chapel on the south side of the Minster, towards the east. When the eastern portion of the Minster was rebuilt, the original chapel, founded by this Archbishop, was pulled down for the purpose of enlarging the choir and adjacent parts of the building.[1]

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[1] In tracing the history of the defences of the city, and noting the military events of the Plantagenet period, no reference has been made to the reign of Richard II (1377-1400). The reason is obvious. The name of this unfortunate monarch is associated with the city chiefly because of the civil honours he bestowed on its officials and citizens. These are matters which do not fall within the scope of our subject

THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

The Rebellion of Archbishop Scrope: Henry IV unpopular.—Scrope's Protest.—A Large Army.—Treachery of the King.—Scrope's Death.—His Associates.—His Tomb, and Superstitions of the People.—A Relic.

HEN Richard II was deposed, and had ended his imprisonment by a wretched death in Pontefract Castle, the man who was chiefly responsible for his sad end was not welcomed by the people of York when he assumed the dignity of Henry the Fourth (1399-1413).

Of the many plots to displace Henry, one was organised by Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York,[1] and others.

[1] There is an interesting portrait of this Archbishop (then Bishop of Lichfield) in the act of baptizing Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, as an infant, in *Cotton MS.*, Julius E. iv, art. 6, f. 1*b*. Drawing by John Rous.

It is said that against the King, whom he boldly excommunicated, the Archbishop drew up a series of articles, which he caused to be attached to the doors of the Minster and the city churches. Among these charges were the following :—

1. That he had invaded the Kingdom, and imprisoned and then barbarously murdered the King.

2. That he had murdered Religious Men and Temporal Lords.

3. That the Kingdom had not prospered under his government.

4. That Wales and other possessions had been lost.

5. That taxes had been extorted.

6. That valour had received no recognition, and the peasantry were oppressed.

The proposals of the warlike prelate went much further than the displacing of Henry. His programme embraced the arrangement of the kingdom to the satisfaction of the people, the re-conquest of Wales, and other pretentious schemes. So well did the revolt at first prosper, that Scrope paraded at the Forest of Galtres, near York, 20,000 armed men.

The enterprise, however, proved abortive, for Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and Prince John of Lancaster, entered into a treaty with the Archbishop, and, by means of promises that all wrongs should be redressed, persuaded him to disband his army.

In Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Westmoreland is thus made to expostulate with the Archbishop :—

> "You, Lord Archbishop,
> Whose see is by a civil peace maintained;
> Whose beard the silver hand of Peace has touched;
> Whose learning and good letters Peace hath tutored;
> Whose white investments figure innocence,
> The dove and very blessed spirit of Peace,—
> Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself,
> Out of the speech of peace, that bears such grace,
> Into the harsh and boist'rous tongue of War?
> Turning your books to graves, your ink to blood,
> Your pens to lances, and your tongue divine
> To a loud trumpet, and a point of War?"[1]

The pledges given by the King's party were only a ruse to secure the person of the Archbishop. When his forces, on his assurance that the peace was a conquest in which "neither party was the loser",[2] had retired to their homes, he was immediately seized and imprisoned at York.

Henry commanded Chief Justice Gascoigne to condemn the Archbishop to death, but the valorous spirit of this judge was as conspicuously displayed on this occasion as when he ordered the imprisonment of the King's son for contempt of Court. He decisively refused to become a party to the barbarous intrigue of the King. Henry secured the requisite condemnation from Lord William Fulthorpe, and Scrope was beheaded on a site between York and Bishopthorpe, on June the 8th, 1405.

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[1] *Henry IV*, Part II, Act iv, Scene 1. [2] *Ibid.*

The circumstances of his death are thus narrated by a sympathetic historian :—"The poor unfortunate Archbishop was put upon a horse, about the value of forty pence, with a halter about its neck, but without a saddle on its back. The Archbishop gave thanks to God, saying, 'I never liked a horse better than I like this!' He twice sang the Psalm *Exaudi*, being habited in a sky-coloured loose garment, with sleeves of the same colour; but they would not permit him to wear the linen vesture used by bishops. At the fatal place of execution he laid his hood and tunic on the ground, offered himself and his cause to Heaven, and desired the executioner to give him five strokes, in token of the five wounds of our Saviour, which was done accordingly."[1]

Lord Mowbray, Earl Marshal of England, Sir John Lamplough, Sir William Plumpton, and others, who took part in this enterprise, suffered death in a similar manner, and the head of the Archbishop, and that of Mowbray, were put on pikes and exhibited upon the walls of the city.

Burial was granted to the Archbishop in the Minster, and, owing to his popularity, his grave was frequented by large numbers of sympathisers.

It is not surprising that in those days, when the common people were enshrouded in ignorance and superstition, that the public veneration gave rise to a belief in a series of miraculous and monstrous

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[1] Thos. Gent, *History of the Famous City of York*, p. 75.

events, attesting the saintliness of the Martyr-Bishop (for as such he was enthusiastically regarded), and Heaven's displeasure against the King who had secured his death.

This popular enthusiasm was regarded by the King with uneasiness, and he ordered the tomb to be rendered inaccessible by being covered with logs of wood.

Archbishop Scrope's memory is now perpetuated by a plain altar-tomb on the north-east of the Lady Chapel.

There is also another relic of this Archbishop which is worthy of attention. There is preserved in the vestry of the Minster a wooden bowl, with a silver-gilt rim, and silver feet of cherubs' heads, bearing this inscription:

"Recharde arch-beschope Scrope, grant nn to all tho that drinkis of this cope XLti dayis to pardon."

"Robert Gobson, beschope mesm grant in same forme aforesaid XLti dayis to pardon, Robert Stensallis."

This Indulgence Cup was given by the Archbishop to the York Guild of Corpus Christi. It afterwards passed into the possession of the Cordwainers' Company, and was presented to the Minster authorities in 1808 by Sheriff Hornby, then Master of the Cordwainers' Company.

CHAPTER II.

Chivalry: A Tournament in York.—A King's Favour.—Decay of Chivalry. An Archbishop's Armoury: Some items.—How they were accumulated.

BEFORE passing to the stirring events of the later portion of this period, two minor matters merit brief attention.

Though tournaments had been forbidden, even under forfeiture of life and possessions, in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307),[1] the latter part of the Plantagenet and the first part of the Lancastrian periods witnessed a revival of these practices. York is not without its traditions in this respect. Early in the reign of Henry IV, "he came to York, and saw a duel, or martial combat by challenge, fought there betwixt two foreign and two English knights, in which the latter prevailed. One of the English, Sir John Cornwall, so pleased the King by his valour shown in the combat, that he gave him his sister, the widow of John Earl of Holland and Huntingdon, to wife."[2] Said Edmund Burke once, deploringly, "The age of chivalry is gone!" In

[1] Madox, *Baronia Anglica*, p. 284.

[2] Speed, quoted by Drake.

the sense that he employed the word—reverence for womanhood—chivalry still lives in the heart of every true man. The disappearance of that chivalry which necessitated such developments of military art as the wanton and ferocious tournament and *mêlée* excites the regret of none.

There is a document published by the Surtees Society, *Testem. Ebor.*, i, 399, which is both interesting and instructive in many ways. It is the will of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, who died at Cawood, 1423. Under the heading of *Garderoba* there is a list of ancient arms and armour.

Among other items the following are named: Jake Deffence (military coat); Qwysschewes (cuisses, armour of the thighs); Paunce (armour for the abdomen); Schynbaldes (armour below the knees); Pectorale (breastplate); Closs (headpiece). Beside battle-axes, lances, etc., there are two "Stokgunnes de ferro", specimens of the earliest form of firearms.

Many of the objects mentioned belong to a period considerably earlier than the time of the Archbishop, and they had doubtless been handed down to him by his predecessors in the occupation of Cawood Castle, which had probably been a fortified stronghold since Saxon days.

CHAPTER III.

The War of the Roses: The Battle of Wakefield Green.—Death of the Rival of Henry VI.—The Battle of Towton.—Cause of Henry VI Overthrown.—Flight of the King.—The Pharsalia of England.—Edward enters York.—Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

TWO of the battles of the famous War of the Roses were associated with York, but not so intimately as to require a detailed description here—the battles of Wakefield Green and Towton.

In the former, fought December 31st, 1460, the Red Rose of Lancaster, represented by the reigning monarch, Henry VI (1422-1461), was triumphant, and Richard, Duke of York, the aspirant to the Crown, was slain, and his head, encircled by a mock diadem of paper, was displayed above Micklegate Bar.

To this latter event Skakespeare alludes when he puts these words into the lips of Queen Margaret upon the battle plain at Wakefield:—

> "Off with his head, and set it on York gates;
> So York may overlook the town of York."[1]

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[1] *Henry VI*, Part III, Act i, Scene 4.

And again, when King Henry and Queen Margaret enter York, she is made to say:—

> "Welcome, my lord, to this brave town of York.
> Yonder's the head of that arch-enemy,
> That sought to be encompassed with your crown."[1]

The heads of notable adherents of the Duke of York were also exposed over the Bar, or other parts of the city walls. Among those who thus suffered were Richard, Earl of Salisbury; the Earl of Rutland, who was the second son of the Duke, and only seventeen years of age; Sir Richard Limbricke, Ralph Stanley, John Harrow, and Captain Hanson.

At the battle of Towton, fought in a blinding snowstorm, which raged to the confusion of the Lancastrians, on Palm Sunday, March 29th, 1461, Richard's son, the Earl of March, who had succeeded to his father's title, and had also assumed his father's claims to the throne, completely overthrew the Lancastrian troops, chiefly by the valiant conduct of his bowmen, and thus secured for himself the allegiance of the North—the South having already decided in his favour.[2]

While the battle of Towton was being fought, the King, Henry VI, and his Queen, Margaret, were in York awaiting the issue of the day. On receiving from the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Exeter, who had ridden in haste from the battle-field to

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[1] *Henry VI*, Part III, Act ii, Scene 2.

[2] Parliament called him to the throne, March 4th.

York, the news of the irretrievable defeat of their cause, they fled the same night from the city by Bootham Bar, with their son, Prince Edward, and a few followers, and escaped to Scotland.[1]

The Duke of Wellington is reported to have said "that nothing, except a battle lost, can be half so melancholy as a battle won." Never, in the annals of English battle-fields, has the victor been summoned to deplore such a field of death as that held by the triumphant Yorkists at Towton. Historians agree that in the battle, and subsequent pursuit, 40,000 men perished. Drake, after Camden, calls this battle the *Pharsalia*[2] of England.

After his victory, Edward entered York by Micklegate Bar, and the first sight to greet him was the ghastly display of the heads of his father and those who had suffered with him. He had the hideous spectacle removed, but only to supply its place with the heads of some who had opposed him, and fallen into his hands at Towton, of whom we may name the Earl of Devonshire, Sir William Hill, the Earl of Kyme, and Sir Thomas Foulford. This act of retaliation is also noticed in the drama of *Henry VI* (Part III, Act ii, Sc. 6):

"*Warwick:* From off the gates of York fetch down the head,
Your father's head, which Clifford placed there:
Instead whereof, let this supply the room;
Measure for measure must be answered."

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[1] Henry died in 1471, after years of exile and imprisonment.

[2] A terrible battle between Cæsar and Pompey.

Among those whose lives were sacrificed on the Lancastrian side in this stubborn and bloody contest, was Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. The Earl was the same age as King Henry VI, and at five years old received the honour of knighthood from the infant monarch, who had himself just been knighted by his uncle, the Duke of Bedford. After the death of his father, whom he succeeded in the title and estates, he became the chief supporter of the Lancastrian interests in the North.

At the battle of Towton the Earl was mortally wounded—not slain on the field, as is often stated—and was brought to his palace at York, where he expired in a few days. Referring to his death at the family residence, an old record has this entry:

"Item, it is talked now for truth, the Earl of Northumberland is dead."[1]

It has also been pointed out that it "is clear he was not killed outright, from the coat of arms in Drake,[2] which indicates one who died in his bed."[1]

The palace of the Earls of Northumberland, which has been referred to, stood on the left ascending Walmgate, towards the Bar, opposite the church of St. Dennis. In later times it was used as an inn. The site is now occupied by shops.

The Earl was buried in the family vault in the

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[1] MS.

[2] Copied from an ancient window in the church of St. Dennis Walmgate.

north aisle of the church of St. Dennis. The tomb is not now visible, the effigies having been removed, and the site being covered with pews of modern date.

The estates of the Earl were confiscated, and his titles transferred.

THE YORKIST PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Edward IV: Suffering entailed by the War.—The King's Compensation.—The Bow.—The Utility of the Bow.—Public Butts in York.—An Ancient Arrow.—The Earl of Warwick.—His Alienation from Edward.—His Intrigue re *the Hospital of St. Leonard.—His Success.—His Defeat.*

HERE can be no doubt that the city of York suffered very considerable loss in consequence of the intestine strife of this time.

The city had been well disposed toward the cause of the Duke of York, and when Edward (1461-1483) became sovereign, he did well not to forget this friendliness of the "Mayor and beloved citizens".

By a Royal Patent, dated June 10th, 1464, a grant of £40 per annum, for a term of twelve years, was given to the city, the amount being derived from the King's customs collected at Kingston-upon-Hull. A copy of the original grant, which appropri-

ately recognises the fidelity and sufferings of the citizens, is to be found upon fol. xvii of the Appendix of Drake.

Under the feudal system the cavalry had been the chief military force. For centuries the overpowering rush of mounted knights had decided almost every battle. But the fourteenth century witnessed a great transformation. An army was gradually created, the foremost place in which was held by the bowman, in which we see the originals of our infantry regiments. In all the contests of this period the bow played a very important part. "So fully was Edward IV convinced of its effect at Towton, that in the fifth year of his reign an Act was passed, commanding every Englishman to have a bow of his own height; and that butts should be provided in every township, at which the inhabitants were obliged to exercise every fast day and holiday",[1] or, in case of neglect, to incur the penalty of one halfpenny.

In *Illustrations of Antient Armour at Goodrich Court*, by Meyrick and Skelton, Plate XVI, Fig. 8, there is given "an unique specimen of the antient English arrow. It was found in excavating around the base of Clifford's Tower, September 1828, and was probably shot into that position in some defence of the building during the wars of the rival Roses, as in Henry the Eighth's time this fortress, according to Leland, was in ruin." It may appear heartless to

[1] Hargrove, *History of York*, vol. i, p. 111.

question the heroic history of this interesting relic, but it must be remembered that York, like every other town, possessed its public butts, and it is generally believed, on reliable authority, that these butts occupied a site in the vicinity of Clifford's Tower. These facts suggest another origin of the arrow at Goodrich Court.

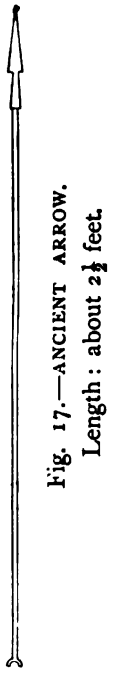

Fig. 17.—ANCIENT ARROW. Length: about 2½ feet.

As Edward fought his way to the throne he had a powerful ally in the Earl of Warwick, known as the King-maker.

Warwick, however, became so thoroughly estranged from Edward, owing to the latter's marriage to a lady of the Lancastrian party, that he transferred his influence to the cause of Henry, who was confined to the Tower of London.

He made strenuous efforts to rouse the people of the North against Edward. The manner in which the Earl and his emissaries proceeded was somewhat singular. Within the city of York was a notable hospital for the care of the poor and diseased, founded in Anglo-Saxon days by Athelstan, as an expression of gratitude to God after a victorious campaign in Scotland.[1] This King made a handsome grant to the hospital, derived

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Trans. ed., vol. ii, p. 204.

Mail

Fig. 18. CLOISTER TO ST. PETER'S.
HALFPENNY: *Fragmenta Vetusta.*

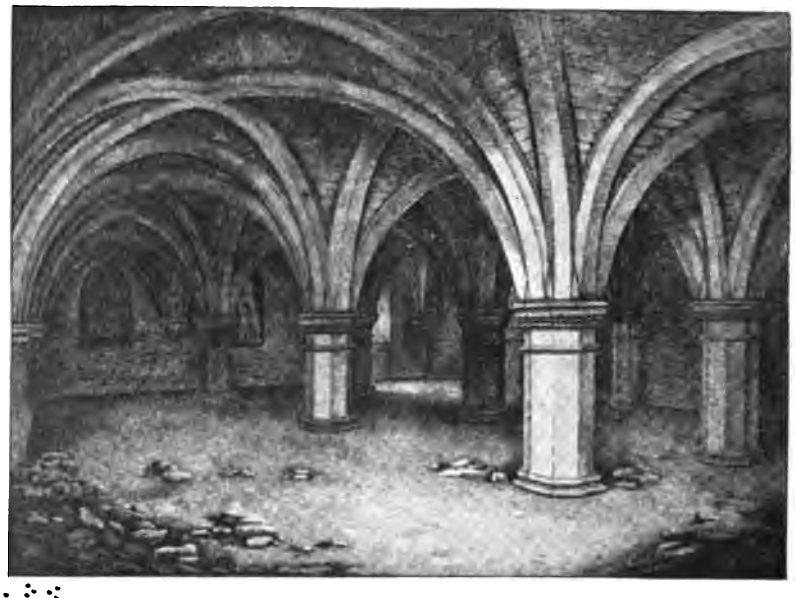

Fig. 19. CLOISTER TO ST. LEONARD'S.
HALFPENNY: *Fragmenta Vetusta.*

"From these Cloisters being * * * * different in style of Architecture, I have been induced to give the name of St. Peter's to one, and of St. Leonard's to the other; although they have been generally known by the name of St. Leonard's Hospital."—HALFPENNY.

from the corn harvest of the diocese. This revenue was confirmed and increased by later monarchs, King Stephen rebuilding the hospital and dedicating it to St. Leonard, instead of St. Peter as formerly. The ruins of this building lie immediately to the right on entering the grounds of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Museum Street.

The income of the monks at the time of Edward IV must have been very considerable.

Reports were circulated at the instigation of Warwick that these funds were needless, and were misappropriated. All holders of land were excited to withhold their gifts, and to rise, in order to demand future exemption from payment.

The spirit of insurrection spread so rapidly that 15,000 men were marshalled to proceed against the city. The insurgents met with a severe reverse near to York, but they were not crushed. On a second attempt they succeeded in taking Edward prisoner, but he escaped and fled to the Continent.

Within a few months he returned,[1] and very cleverly ingratiated himself into the goodwill of the people of the North. He met Warwick in battle at Barnet on Easter Sunday, 1471. Here the King-maker was slain, and from this time Edward was established upon the throne.

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[1] This episode is very graphically described in Lytton, *The Last of the Barons.*

CHAPTER II.

Richard III: His Policy.—Rescinds the Toll of Henry III.—His Repair of the Walls.—Monk Bar.—The Duke of Buckingham's Rebellion.—An Appeal for Troops.—Too Late for Bosworth.

WE now pass to the short and chequered reign of Richard III (1483-1485).

This monarch, in a variety of ways, sought to conciliate a people who were dissatisfied with the manner[1] in which he had acquired the reins of government.

At York, he "rescinded the enactment of Henry III for sustaining the repairs of the fortifications".[2] A memorandum of this concession has been preserved in the following form:

"Our sovereign lord, only of his abundant grace, most graciously and habuntantly granted and gave in relief of the said cite in esyng[3] of the Tolls, Murage, Bucher-Pennys, and Skaitgild of the said cite, yerely £23 11*s.* 2*d.* for evyr; that is to say, for the murage £20, and the residue to the sheriffs, so that it shold be

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[1] He is charged with the death of his youthful nephews, Edward V, and his brother Richard, the Duke of York, also other persons.

[2] Lockwood and Cates, *Fortifications of York*, p. 29.

[3] Easing.

lefull[1] to every person coming to the said cite with their guds and cattell, and them freely to sell in the same without anything gratifying, or paying for toll or murage of any of the said guds; and his grace most graciously granted to the mair and commonality of the said cite yerely £40 for ever, to the behoof of the commonality and chamber of the said cite; and yerely to the mair for the tyme being, as his chief serjeant at ayrms 12*d.* of the day, being by the year £18 6*s.* 0*d.*"[2]

These grants were much more considerable than appears at first sight, for the purchasing power of money was from fifteen to twenty times greater than at the present time. Wheat, for instance, was sold at two shillings per quarter,[3] and even less, instead of ranging from thirty to forty shillings per quarter.

We also learn that the King conferred a more immediate benefit upon the citizens by commencing the repairs of the walls and fortifications at his own expense. He took down the old Castle, and commenced a new one, but, owing to the early termination of his career, never completed his intentions.

We have seen that Fitz-Engelram's house on Micklegate Bar became part of the city defences in the reign of Edward III (1327-1377). It has been surmised that an upper part was added to Monk Bar at the time of Richard III. "Much difficulty exists in ascertaining the precise time when the upper part of Monk Bar was added to the gate, but as it still bears the arms used after the accession of Henry V, it may be attributed to the munificence of

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[1] Lawful.

[2] Drake. See also Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. v, part iii, p. 159.

[3] Drake, p. 118.

Richard III, unless the result of the murage toll, first granted by Henry III, which seems very feasible, since no entry of any order, or expense incurred, appears upon the city records. The Bar exhibits a much later style than Micklegate Bar."[1]

The first plot to dethrone Richard occurred a few months after his accession, and was originated by a former supporter, the Duke of Buckingham.

Richard appealed to the city of York for the support of arms.

Among the records of the city is the following memorandum :

"Mem. 13 Oct., 1 Rich. III. John Otyr, yeoman of the Crown, brought the following letter to the lord-maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and communality,

"By the King,

"Trusty and wel-beloved we grete ye wele, and let ye wit that the Duke of Buckingham traiterously is turned upon us, contrary to the dute of his legeance, and entendeth the utter destruction of us, you, and all other our true subgietts that have taken our part; whose traiterous entent we, with God's grace, entend briefly to resist and subdue. We desire and pray you in our hearty wise that yee will send unto us as many men defensibly arraied on horseback, as ye may godely make, to our town of Leicestre, the 21 day of this present month, withouten fail, as ye will tendre our honner and your own wele, and we shall so see you paid for your reward and charges as yee shall hold yee wele content. Geving further credence to our trusty pursuvant this berer.

"Geven under our signet at our cite of Lincoln, the xith day of October.

"SUPERSCRIBED.

"To our trusty and right well beloved the maire, aldermen, sheriffs, and communalitie of the citie of York."

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[1] Lockwood and Cates, *Fortifications of York.*

MONK BAR

Opp. p. 126.

Mail

It was not found necessary to carry out the request of the King, for Buckingham was betrayed and his life forfeited.

With the growing jeopardy of the King, the Council of York, not knowing what contingency might arise, took special and repeated measures to ensure the safety and defence of the city and the inhabitants. In 1485 four hundred men were also put under arms for the purpose of joining the King. These troops had not proceeded far before they heard that the King had been defeated and slain at Bosworth by Henry, Earl of Richmond. They hastily returned to the city, and were disbanded after bearing arms four-and-a-half days.

THE TUDOR PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Henry VII and the Citizens.—Proposals from Lambert Simnel.—Restoration of the Walls.—Fishergate Postern built.—The Walls in the Reign of Henry VII.—The Battle of Flodden Field.—Walls on the Foss Islands.

HEN Henry, Earl of Richmond, a man of violent hatred toward the House of York, came to the throne as Henry VII (1485-1509), the city, which had been so loyal to Richard III, feared what the rule of the victor of Bosworth Field might portend. But the citizens had an early opportunity of conciliating any vindictiveness which might have moved the heart of Henry against the people of the North.

The supporters of the impostor, Lambert Simnel, made overtures to the city of York. Their proposals were rejected and reported to the King, who responded very cordially to the communication of the authorities, and urged the necessity of taking every

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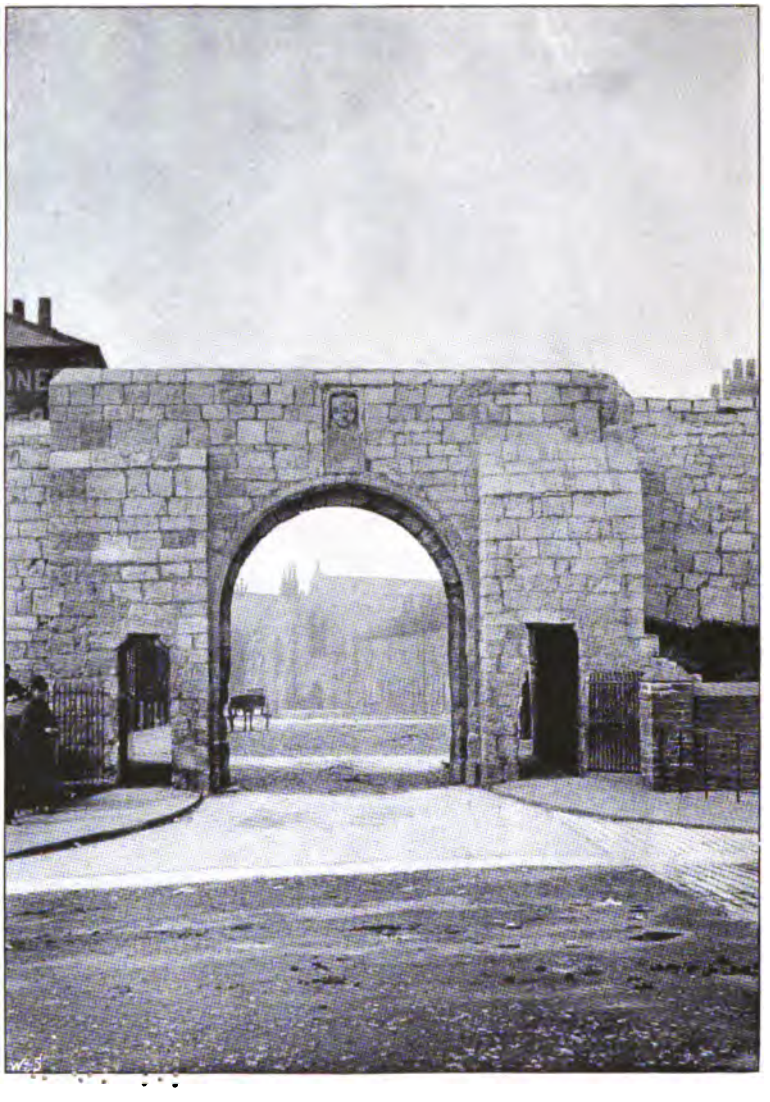

FISHERGATE BAR.

Opp. p. 129.

possible precaution for the preservation of the city.

This episode caused the people of York to repair and fortify their walls.

The walls connected with Fishergate underwent complete restoration.

Above the outer face of the arch at Fishergate may still be read:

"Ao Domini MCCCCLXXVIII Sr Willm
Tod, Knight and Mayre, this wal was mayd
in his dayes LX yerdys."

Within the gate is the following inscription, but it is hidden from view by modern repairs:

"A. Dm. MCCCCLXXVIII. Sr Willm
Todd, knight and mair jou-ates some tyme
was shyriffe did this cost himself."

Fourteen years later, Fishergate Postern, standing near the extremity of the wall from Fishergate, toward the confluence of the Ouse and the Foss, was built.

During the reign of the next monarch, Henry VIII (1509-1547), the walls were apparently in an excellent condition, both as to their masonry and military equipment. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, one of the most interesting books in old English literature, gives a careful description of them, which, greatly simplified, may be read as follows:

"The city of York is divided by the river Ouse, but that part which is on the east side is twice as great as that on the west. The great tower at

Lendall[1] had a chain of iron to cast over the river; then another tower, and so on to Bootham Bar; from thence to Monk Bar, ten towers; and to Layerthorpe Postern, four towers; for some distance the deep waters of the Foss defended this part of the city without the walls; and from thence to Walmgate Bar, three towers; then Fishergate Bar, walled up in the time of Henry VII, and three towers, the last a postern, from which by a bridge over the Foss to the Castle—the ruins of five towers was all that remained of it. On the west side of the river was first a tower, from which a wall passed over the dungeon to the castle on the Old Baile, with nine towers, to Micklegate Bar, and between it and North Street Postern, ten towers; the postern was opposite the tower at Lendall, to draw the chain over the river between them."

During the absence of Henry VIII in France, 1513, James IV of Scotland invaded England. This adventure cost the Scotch king his life. The Earl of Surrey, Lord Lieutenant of the North, proceeded against him, and the two forces met at Flodden Field,[2] where James was repulsed and slain.

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[1] Now utilised by the Waterworks.

[2] Under the date of 1664, Gent narrates the following singular event:—"This year, on the 8th of December, died one Henry Jenkins, a fisherman, at Ellerton, upon the river Swale, aged 163. He had sworn in a tryal at York to 120 years past, at which time he was butler to the Lord Conyers. He remembered Fountains Abbey in its splendour. He remembered the time of the *Battle of Flodden Field, having carried arrows as far as*

Withdrawn

THE RED TOWER.

Opp. p. 131.

York contributed in some measure to this decisive victory, for five hundred of the Earl of Surrey's troops were raised in the city and the vicinity. The body of the Scottish king was brought to York, and exposed to public view until the return of Henry from France, when it was sent to him at Richmond.

In 1558, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the walls adjoining the Red Tower on the Foss Islands were renovated.

Northallerton, which were furthered from thence to the army by another boy." *History of York*, p. 226.

CHAPTER II.

Numerous Revolts and Executions: Simnel's Revolt.—Sir John Egremont and Fishergate.—Pilgrimage of Grace.—Sir John Nevill.—Seamer Rebellion.—The Banner of the Five Wounds, and Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

UNDER the Tudors, very numerous executions took place in York for treason and armed revolt. The narration of these events belongs to the history of the county and the North generally, rather than to the history of this city in particular. Little more can be attempted here beyond a list of the principal executions:

1. In the third year of the reign of Henry VII, some of the sympathisers with the rebellion of Lambert Simnel attempted to seize the King, when he was celebrating St. George's Day in the city, and thereby forfeited their lives.

2. In this reign John à Chambre and others fermented a rebellion, of which Sir John Egremont was chosen leader, to oppose the levying of a tax imposed to maintain an army sent to Brittany by Henry to sustain the rights of Anne, heiress of Duke Francis. This rebellion was confined to Yorkshire and Durham, all other counties having readily paid the impost. Upon the suppression of

the revolt, Egremont escaped to Flanders, but Chambre and some of his associates were executed at York.

Fishergate was burned by the rebels; but, instead

Fig. 20.—FISHERGATE PRIOR TO 1827.[1]

of restoring it, the city authorities caused it to be built up. Leland speaks of "Fisschar Gate, stoppid

[1] The illustration is reproduced from Halfpenny's *Fragmenta Vetusta*. There is a similar picture in Cave's *Picturesque Buildings*.

up sins the communes burnid it in the tyme of Henry VII." This gate was not reopened until 1827.

3. An effort, which received the pious designation of "The Pilgrimage of Grace", was made in the reign of Henry VIII to restore Papal power in the kingdom. Robert Aske, Esq., of Aughton, because of the prominent part he took in this revolt, was hung in chains[1] on Clifford's Tower.

4. In 1541, Sir John Nevill and ten other persons were executed for rebellion.

5. Six years later, the leaders of a rebellion which broke out at Seamer, near Scarborough, suffered death in like manner.

6. In 1569, an attempt was made to dethrone Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603), and to put Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne. Like "The Pilgrimage of Grace", this rebellion had a religious origin, and the malcontents bore a device known as "The Banner of the Five Wounds". This was, in fact, the last armed revolt made in England to attempt the restoration of the Papal power. "Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in this rash enterprise. Not less than 800 persons are said, in the whole, to have suffered by the hands of the executioner. Between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district sixty miles in length by forty in breadth, there was not a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire

[1] Drake, p. 127.

on the gibbet."[1] Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Simon Digby, John Fulthorpe, Robert Pennyman, and Thomas Bishop, were executed at York.

The Earl of Northumberland evaded capture by hiding in a wretched cottage for about two years. At length he was betrayed and brought to York. A scaffold was erected in the Pavement, near St. Crux Church,[2] and there, on August 22nd, 1572, he gave his neck to the headsman. He died "avowing the Pope's supremacy, denying subjection to the Queen, affirming the land to be in a schism, and her obedient subjects no better than heretics."[3]

The Earl was buried in the Church of St. Crux, but no monument was erected to his memory.

His head was placed upon a pole above Micklegate Bar, where it remained for about two years, when it appears to have been stolen. An old MS., quoted by several writers, says: "In the year 1574 the head of the Earl of Northumberland was stolen, in the night, from Micklegate Bar, by persons unknown."

The helmet, sword, and gauntlets of the Earl were preserved in the Church of St. Crux, and the helmet is now to be seen in the Mission Room, which has been recently erected upon part of the ancient site.

Many of the victims of these executions were

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[1] Grainge, *The Battlefields of Yorkshire.*

[2] Removed in 1885.

[3] Speed.

subjected to the barbarous practice of those days, "hung, drawn, and quartered", and their heads and limbs were displayed upon the gates of the city, and upon Clifford's Tower. Micklegate Bar was more degraded by this horrible practice than any other public position in York.

CHAPTER III.

Spurriergate: Ancient Military Trades.—The Spurriers.—An Important Craft.—Earliest form of the Spur.—Rowelled Spurs.—Ripon Spurs.—Spurriers settle in York.—Spurriergate, when so named.

SOME of the various crafts which flourished in ancient York were connected with military life, *i.e.*, the armourers, arrowsmiths, and spurriers. The latter industry has left a permanent memorial of its existence and importance here in by-gone days by giving its name to the southern extension of Coney Street, viz., *Spurriergate.*

In mediæval days, when all journeys were undertaken on foot or horseback, and when cavalry formed a much larger proportion of the army than at present, the spurriers formed a powerful body of craftsmen. Originally,[1] and for a long time afterwards, spurs were merely pricks or pyramidal goads, such as may be seen on cross-legged effigies of the times of

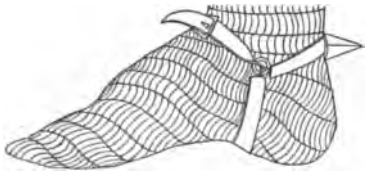

Fig. 21.

[1] The use of spurs was first introduced into Britain by the Romans.

the Crusades (Fig. 21), or on the seals of our kings and barons prior to the reign of Edward III (1327-1377). This form of spur was varied by the insertion of a neck between the goad and the heel. Fig. 22 is an engraving of such a spur, made of brass, and belonging to the thirteenth century. The rowelled spur was invented in the reign of Henry III (1216-1272). Sometimes a person of Norman or Plantagenet times is represented on one seal wearing the single goad, and on another wearing the rowelled spur. A most formidable pattern of the rowelled spur came into use in the time of Henry V (1413-1422), Fig. 23.

Fig. 22.

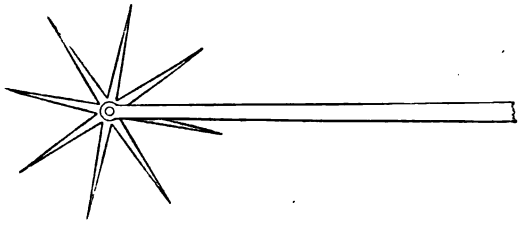

Fig. 23.

The neck was very long, and from the heel to the tip of the spikes, which were also long and very sharp, this spur measured from six to seven-and-a-half inches. In the reign of Henry VIII this absurd and cruel horse-goad gave place to a short star-like pattern,

somewhat similar to the one in use at the present day, Fig. 24.[1]

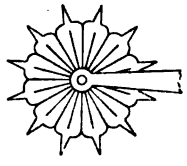

Fig. 24.

Sometimes spurs were ornamented with gold and silver, and were even made of these costly metals. There seems to have been no limit to the excess of fashion in this item of equestrian outfit. Spurs were even garnished with diamonds and other precious stones, examples of these extravagances of the spurrier's art being still preserved.

In Yorkshire, the spurriers flourished chiefly at Ripon, especially in the sixteenth century. "As true steel as Ripon rowels," is a well-known saying, and other references to "sharp Rippon spurs" could be easily quoted. Spur-makers settled in the vicinity of the present Spurriergate in York at a very early date. In a rate-roll of the parish of St. Michael,[2] in the first year of Edward III, two spurriers are named. Surnames were not in general use then, and they are described as "John, the spurrier", and "Alan, the spurrier". When Spurriergate received its present name cannot be ascertained. We know it was not so called in the early period just referred to, for, in a document of that date, the Church of St. Michael is said to be in "Conyng- Street". Coney Street then embraced Lendal, the present Coney

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[1] Drawn from Fairholt, *Costumes*, p. 604.

[2] The church stands at the corner of Spurriergate and Ousegate.

Street, and Spurriergate. In the fifteenth century the name "Conyng Street" was still retained. Perhaps *Spurriergate* was first employed in the Tudor period (sixteenth century), for in the next century both names were in use. In 1651, we find the street spoken of as "Little Coney Street, *alias* Spurriergate". At this time the spur-makers were incorporated in the trades' guild of St. Anthony, and subscribed yearly toward the repair of the Hall in Peaseholme Green. Within a century the craft, as a separate industry, had ceased to exist in York.

THE STUART PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

An Important Period.—Charles I in York, 1639.—*Charles in York,* 1640.

THE most important epoch in the later military history of York is the period comprised by the reign of Charles the First, 1625-1649.

When Scotland determined by the *National Covenant* to resist the attempts made to supplant Presbyterianism, Charles hastened to York (1639), and made it the rendezvous of the army, being resolved to put down the Covenanters by force of arms. "He was received by the Lord Mayor in state at Micklegate Bar, and saluted by a volley of musquetry from six hundred of the trained band, who were here drawn out in order, dressed in buff coats, scarlet breeches silver-laced, russet boots, black caps, and large feathers. When the King had reached the Manor

House, the trained bands performed their exercise in the fields on the opposite side of the river, and greeted the royal visitor with four other discharges of their firearms."[1]

A month later, Charles marched for the North. No battle was fought, an agreement being entered into by the two nations, known as the "Pacification of Berwick".

In the following year (1640), the Scotch assumed a most hostile attitude. They crossed the Tweed, defeated the English troops, and took possession of Northumberland. This event again called the King to York. "On the 31st of August he rode about the city, attended by the Marquis of Hamilton, several general officers, some aldermen and citizens, and marked out several entrenchments and fortifications. On the 7th of September writs were issued for the assembling of the Peers of the Realm at York; and on the same day Sir Jacob Astley entered the city with the whole of the royal army, amounting to twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse. Half of these were encamped in Clifton Fields, and the other on the opposite bank, having a bridge of boats to connect them. At the same time fifty pieces of ordnance, one hundred and thirty-two wagons loaded with powder, shot, and matches, with several carriages of picks, spades, and shovels, arrived from the King's magazines at Hull. Many cannon were planted before the camp, where several

[1] Lockwood and Cates, p. 34.

KING HENRY VIII'S MANOR HOUSE.

Opp. p. 142

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ramparts and bulwarks had been thrown up, and a guard was kept at every Bar and Postern. As an additional security, Charles requested the gentry of Yorkshire to support the trained bands for two months, to which they consented. On the 24th of September the Peers met in the Deanery, where the great hall had been prepared for their reception. The petition of the Scots was read, and sixteen noblemen were appointed to conclude a treaty with them at Ripon. At the same time it was resolved that two hundred thousand pounds be borrowed of the city of London to defray the expenses of the King's troops. Edward, Lord Herbert, greatly exasperated at the Scottish claims, advised Charles to fortify the city of York more strongly, and refuse them."[1]

Nothing was done, however, either in adding to the fortifications of the city or resisting the Scotch. Terms were made between the two countries, to the disadvantage of Charles, by the Treaty of Ripon.

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[1] Lockwood and Cates, p. 35.

CHAPTER II.

Premonitions of the coming Storm: Charles repulsed from Hull. —He holds Court at York.—The Royal Printing Press.— His Bodyguard.—The King's Order respecting the Militia.— A Monster Assembly at Heworth Moor.—The King's Address. —The People's Petition.—The People's Appeal to Parliament. —Parliament stops War Supplies.—The King goes to Nottingham.

WHEN the estrangement between the ill-fated monarch and the Parliament caused him to leave London, in March 1642, he visited Yorkshire, where demonstrations of loyalty had never been wanting.

Hull was, at this time, the largest arsenal in the country, and thither the King proceeded, on April the 23rd, for the purpose of inspecting the armaments of the place. To this the King had been urged by the "Gentry and Commons of the County of York", in a petition presented to him at York on the previous day, April 22nd, 1642. This petition was as follows:

"To the King's most Excellent Majesty, the humble petition of the Gentry and Commons of the County of York.

"Most Royall Soveraign;

"Encouraged by Your Majesties many Testimonies of your Gracious Goodnesse to us and our Countie, which we can

never sufficiently acknowledge; we in all duty and loyalty of heart addresse ourselves to Your Sacred Majesty, beseeching you to cast Your eyes and thoughts upon the safety of your own person, and your Princely Issue, and this whole Countie, a great means of which we conceive doth consist in the arms and ammunition at Hull, placed there by your Princely care and charge, and since, upon generall apprehension of dangers from Foreign parts represented to your Majestie, thought fit as yet to be continued

"We for our parts, conceiving ourselves to be still in danger, do most humbly beseech your majesty that you will be pleased to take such course and order that your Magazine may still there remain, for the better securing of these, and the rest of the Northern parts: And the rather because we think it fit, that that part of the kingdom should be best provided where your Sacred Person doth reside, Your person being like David's, the light of Israel, and more worthy than ten thousand of us,

"Who shall daily pray, etc."[1]

To his amazement and annoyance, Charles found the gates of Hull closed against him by the Governor, Sir John Hotham. The King immediately communicated with the Parliament by a letter dated April 24th. In this document he states that he went to Hull on the previous day (April 23rd) in order to find out what part of the military stores there ought to be retained for the defence of the North, what part could be spared for the troops serving in Ireland, and also what arms were available to replenish the armoury in the Tower of London. His Majesty complains that the gates were closed against him by the Governor, Sir John Hotham, and also that the Duke of York

[1] Published in London by Robert Baker, 1642.

and Prince Rupert (the King's son and nephew),

Fig. 25.—SIR JOHN HOTHAM.

who were present in the city, were not permitted to join His Majesty "till after some consultation".[1]

The conduct of Sir John was supported by the Parliament, and Charles retired to York, and there established his court.[2]

Within St. William's College,[3] Minster Yard, print-

Fig. 26.—ST. WILLIAM'S COLLEGE.

ing presses were set up, by order of the King, and from these were sent out many of the political pamphlets and sheets which helped to kindle the fires

[1] Published in London by Robert Baker, 1642.

[2] Sir John Hotham was afterwards beheaded by the Parliament for treason, January 2nd, 1645.

[3] Founded by Henry VI. Now divided into tenements.

of rebellion. The King, at this time, did not occupy the Manor, as on former occasions, but took up his abode in the "spacious and luxurious mansion" of Sir Arthur Ingram, which then stood on the north side of the Minster, within the city walls. The proximity of this house to St. William's College facilitated "quick and unobserved communication" between the King and his printer.[1]

At a great gathering of the gentry of the county, held at the Castle, the King obtained a bodyguard of 200 troopers, under the command of the Prince of Wales, and 700 foot commanded by Sir Robert Strickland (Lieut.-Col.), a proceeding which was construed by the exasperated Parliament into an attempt to raise a standing army, with the immediate purpose of opposing the Parliament by force of arms, and so the ominous breach was further widened.

After an interval of a few days the King forbade the Militia to assemble or drill in any part of the kingdom, without Royal sanction.

A little later, the King summoned the ministers, freeholders, farmers, and substantial copyholders to meet on Heworth Moor. The response was so general, that, on the 3rd of June, the day appointed, 60,000 persons assembled.

The address of the King, which was conciliatory, and expressed His Majesty's aversion to anything like war, had been printed beforehand, and was

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[1] See Robert Davies, F.S.A., *A Memoir of the York Press*, pages 38 to 55.

distributed to the people. The opening paragraph read:

"We would have you to be assured that wee never intended the least neglect unto you in any former summons of the countrey. Our love, as well as our protection, extending to all our subjects; but as you are a great body, time and conveniency must be observed in all your assembling.

"That you may know the general reasons of Our being here, you must understand that when we found it neither safe nor honourable to expose Our person to the tumultuous and licentious proceedings of many (which to this day are unpublished) who did disorderly approach neere Our Court at Whitehall, We trusted this part of Our Dominions chiefly to reside in; where, as most of the Gentry already have, so Wee assure Ourselves the rest of you will give Us cleer testimony of your service and obedience, which We will never use otherwise than for the defence of the true Orthodox Religion, professed and setled in Queen Elizabeth's time; and confirmed by the authority of the Statutes of this Realm, the defence of the Laws and fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom (as the justest Measure of and Rule for Our Prerogatives, and your Liberties and Rights), and lastly for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdom."

The address thus professed the peaceful intentions of the King:

"And for the cleere understanding of Our Resolutions to maintain peace, Wee may have the con-

fidence and happiness to referre (against all malignity whatsoever) to Our former sixteen yeeres Reigne (too long to dissemble Our Nation); if in all this time Wee never caused the effusion of one drop of blood, it must needs be thought that in Our riper judgement in Government, Wee should never open such issues as might drown Us and Our Posterity in them."

The address was enthusiastically received. The Cavaliers waved their hats and cheered, while from thousands of throats there rang the cries, "God bless the King!" "God unite the King and Parliament!"

But there was another side to all this. The people had drawn up an address also, and desired to present it to the King. This petition of the freeholders set forth the miseries of the county in consequence of the quarrel between the King and the Parliament. It stated, "That this particular county (most affectionate to your Majesties service) hath wellnigh for three years last past beene the stage whereon the tragicall miseries (which necessarily accompany and associate warre and armies) have been represented and acted, whereby the generall wealth and plenty of this county is exhausted and brought very low; which weight of miseries are sensibly become much more heavy by reason of your Majesties distance in residence, and difference in councels from your great Councill the Parliament, begetting great distempers and distractions throughout the kingdom, and have especially amongst us produced factions

and divisions; drawing to these parts great numbers of discontented persons, that may too justly be feared, doe affect the public ruine for their private advantage."

The desire of the petitioners was thus stated: "We do therefore in all humility and duty, in the sence of our present deplorable condition, beseech your Majesty to pardon us, if we importune your Majesty more than others; since we have endured, and are in hazard more than any: and that from these apprehensions we may offer to your Majesty our earnest petitions for redresse, and prevention of these evills, daily threatening danger to your Majesty, and destruction to us, which we conceive is impossible any other way to be effected, than by your Majesties entertaining a right understanding betwixt yourself and Parliament, and affording your gracious eare and consent to such councells and propositions as shall be tendered by them to your Majesty for the honor and greatnesse of your Majesty and Posterity, and the good of this Church and Kingdome; and by your Majesties declining all other counsells whatsoever, and uniting your confidence to your Parliament."

Sir Thomas Fairfax was entrusted with the delivery of this document, but when he approached the King, His Majesty contemptuously waved his hand and refused to accept it. Not to be defeated altogether, Fairfax placed the paper on the pommel of the monarch's saddle, and left it there.

The King's friends said that the people had de-

clared for the King and against the Parliament. The majority, however, left the moor dissatisfied and angry because Charles had refused to hear them, and a large number instantly took steps for bringing their complaints against the King before Parliament. The nobility who attended the King on this occasion also did great mischief to the royal cause by their harsh treatment of those assembled. Their conduct is in part recorded in a petition presented shortly after by the freeholders to the Houses of Parliament, and which is here given in full:

"To the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons, in the High Court of Parliament assembled,

"The Humble Petition of the Gentry, Ministers, Freeholders, and other inhabitants of the County of York, assembled there at His Majesty's Command, the third of June 1642,

"We being resolved humbly to petition His Majesty for the redresse of those grievances which we now lye under, did desire to have met in the Castle-yard at Yorke, wee conceiving it the right place to consider of such publike affaires as concerned the County, which were not onely denied of, but charge was given to the officer there, that wee should not have any admittance, and when we assembled upon the place appointed by His Majesty and did acquaint the County, there met, with the forme of a Petition, the sense whereof they formerly approved of, and then upon the reading thereof, generally consented to, and desired the same should be presented to His Majesty, we were violently interrupted by the Earl of Linsey, who with a great troop attending him, in an imperious way, snatched out of a gentleman's hand of good quality a coppy of the forenamed petition, which at the desire of the County he was reading to them, and some of his Lordship's company laid hold of his bridle and cloake, hailing him in a great fury, and sayd, 'You are a company of traitorous rogues and villaines!' and often lifted up his cane, as if he would have struck him.

"And also a knight of this County was affronted by the Lord Saville, upon his reading the draught of a petition to himself, upon the place aforesaid, the day above:

"First, his Lordship told him it was a pamphlet, which he denied; thereupon the Lord Saville demanded it of him, which he refused to deliver; his Lordship layd hands upon his sword, and almost pluckt him from his horse. Upon which the said Knight, fearing some mischief would be done to him, delivered the same. And then the said Lord Saville told him he laboured to sow seeds of sedition, and if he would fight there should be fighting enough, and many of the said Lord Saville's company held up their canes at him, and one of them said, 'Hold your prating: it were good to cane you!' which provocations, had not the people beene peaceably enclyned, might have produced bloudy effects.

"Notwithstanding all which, and divers other insufferable injuries, so confident were we of His Majesties former professions, never to refuse any petition presented by his people to him in a humble way, that we desisted not to wait our best opportunity to present the said petition to His Majesty. A coppy whereof we here humbly present unto your grave considerations, which His Majesty notwithstanding, pleased not to accept of. We therefore desire these Honourable Houses well to weigh these Particulars, and to take such courses therein as may tend to the preservation of our liberties and the peace of the Kingdome. And that you would please to addresse yourselves to His Majesty on our behalfe, that through your wisedomes our desires may find a better acceptance with his Majesty."

The Parliament enacted that no war supplies should be permitted to approach the North. This order was to the effect "that a strict search, and Examination be made by the Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other His Majesty's officers, inhabiting or neer adjoining to all the northern roads, for the stopping and staying of all Armes, Ammunition, Powder, Light-horses, or horses for service in the Warres, and great saddles

that are, or shall be carryed towards the North parts of England, but by the privity and direction of one or both the houses of Parliament, and that the said officers shall stay them accordingly, and speedily give information thereof unto one of the Houses of Parliament."[1] This was in June 1642. Soon after this, August 1642, the King, under the advice of the northern nobility, who foresaw and dreaded the coming storm, moved from York and set up his standard at Nottingham, an act that was tantamount to a declaration of civil war.

[1] Parliamentary Paper published June 15, 1642.

CHAPTER III.

York an immense Garrison.—The Scotch Allies of the Parliament. — York shut up.— Walmgate and Bootham Bars.—A Letter. —St. Mary's Tower.—Fever in the City.

WHEN the King left York, the Earl of Cumberland was put in charge as the Commander-General of His Majesty's Forces, but subsequently he resigned his position in favour of the Earl of Newcastle, who came to the city at the request of the freeholders of the county, with 6,000 infantry and cavalry, and ten guns. Sir Thomas Glemham was Governor of the city. Early in the following year (Feb. 22, 1643), the Queen, Henrietta Maria, arrived from the Continent with immense munitions of war, and, after a brief rest at York, she joined the King at Nottingham.

York, as headquarters of the Royalist army, became an immense garrison. We are told that "one parish, containing but forty houses, had 500 men billeted upon it".

Lockwood and Cates thus describe the precautions taken to defend the city:—"York was now strengthened at every point. Clifford's Tower was partially repaired at the Earl of Cumberland's command, and placed under the care of Sir Francis Cob,

with two demy culverins and a saker to defend it. Two cannon were planted on the Old Baile, one at Fryers, two sling pieces, and one small drake on some banks between Skeldergate Postern and the opposite bank, and two (cannon) at each of the bars. Without Walmgate a strong bulwark was erected, and at the ends of several lanes within the city, ditches and banks were thrown up, and hogsheads filled with earth ranged for barricados. The magistrates were obliged to provide 800 men to work continually at the repairs of the walls, and the same number was added to them from the country."

Prisoners were brought in from every part of Yorkshire, for, from the autumn of 1642 to the spring of 1644, warlike operations were carried on at Wetherby, Tadcaster, Bradford, Leeds, Wakefield, Hull, Selby, and other places. These prisoners were confined in the Castle, the Merchants' Hall, Davy Hall,[1] and similar buildings within the city.

In the beginning of 1644, 20,000 Scots crossed the border, as the allies of the Parliament, whose cause had gradually strengthened. These troops effected a union with those of Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, General of the Parliamentary Forces in the North, and on April 19th the combined forces settled down to the exciting but protracted operation of the siege of York. They soon discovered that their numbers, about 20,000, the Scotch army having

[1] Now abolished. Site known as Davygate.

The right Honourable Ferdinand Lord Fairfax.

Fig. 27.—From *Historical Sketches of Charles the First, Cromwell, Charles the Second, and the principal personages of that period.* W. D. Fellowes. Opp. p. 348.

considerably diminished since its entrance into England, were not equal to the necessities of the siege of such a strongly garrisoned city.

Communications were therefore opened with the Earl of Manchester, who responded by joining the besiegers with 6,000 foot and 3,000 horse—the cavalry being under the command of the famous Oliver Cromwell.

By means of these accessions the Parliamentarians were enabled to almost surround the entire city. The Scots were commanded by Leslie, the Earl of Leven, and occupied the south of the city—Bishopthorpe and Middlethorpe. The men under the command of Lord Fairfax were placed on the east —Fulford and Heslington. To the Earl of Manchester was assigned a position in the north-west of the city—Clifton and its neighbourhood.

Almost the daily occurrences of this great siege can be very minutely traced in contemporaneous publications, for both sides issued their pamphlets and sheets with amazing rapidity, and others, independently, issued printed reports, "to prevent misinformation."[1] One has said, "Each army carried its own printer with it, expecting either to convince by its reasoning, or to delude by its falsehood."[2]

The city was closely pressed at Walmgate Bar

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[1] *The Kingdomes Weekly Post; Mercurius Britannicus; The True Informer; The Military Scribe; London's Intelligencer*, and a large number of others.

[2] W. D. Fellowes, *Historical Sketches*, p. 243.

and Bootham Bar. A church which stood without Walmgate Bar—St. Nicholas,[1] to which we shall refer again—was completely demolished. The struggle, as it raged at Walmgate and Bootham, is partly told in the following letter sent from the besieging army[2]:

"Upon Wednesday night last, was a battery made at the windmill[3] betwixt York and Heslington .... and five pieces of great ordnance yesterday placed in it, and divers shots made into the city, which have made visible batteries both in the walls, Clifford's Tower, and other houses. Another battery got at St. Lawrence Church, made within the churchyard next Walmgate, about fifty yards from the gate, and here, and in the church, and houses, there are about 3,000 of our men.... Four thousand Scots yesterday entered Gillygate, Marygate, and Mary Tower, and have made a passage into the Manor House underground. This last night a strong party sallyed out of the city, and fell upon these men to beat them back, but could not prevaile, for 7,000 of my Lo. Manchester, and my Lo. Fairfax's men fell into Walmgate, and so diverted the enemy, and had a sore fight with them. The losse hitherto I have not heard on either side."

On Trinity Sunday the besiegers succeeded in

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[1] The name is preserved in "Nicholas Street".

[2] See also Sir Henry Slingsby, *Diary*, edited by Parsons, pp. 108-109.

[3] This was on Lamel Hill. The name is derived from the Norman *Le Meul*, *i.e.*, "the Mill".

blowing up St. Mary's Tower, one of the angles of the walls surrounding St. Mary's Abbey, and in making at the same time an effective breach in the walls in Marygate. The Royalist officers were in the Minster attending Divine service at the time of the explosion, but so expeditiously did they resume their various posts on hearing the report, and so ably did they lead their men to meet the inrushing foe, that the stormers were repulsed with fifty killed and 250 taken prisoners.

The loss of many valuable ecclesiastical documents was occasioned by this event, for here the Lord President of the North kept the charters of the religious houses of the northern counties. A remnant of this tower may be seen built into a house at the corner of Marygate and Bootham.

The contiguity of the opposing forces, and the fierceness of the contest, may be understood from the fact that the King's Manor House was garrisoned by Royalist troops, and yet the roof of St. Olave Church, about 100 yards distant, was in the possession of the Parliamentarians, who had planted upon it a battery of guns.[1]

During the siege the city suffered much from sickness. *The True Informer* for June 20–22, 1644, says: "The garrison and citizens are verie much distressed by reason of the spotted feaver,

[1] MS. letter of Sir Harry Vane, Pelham Papers, B.M., Ad. 33,084, fol. 46.

ST. MARY'S TOWER, BOOTHAM.

Opp. p. 160.

Mau

which much rages there, and whereof many, both soldiers and other, die dailie."

Although provisions, within the city, rose to very high prices, it does not appear that there was anything like a famine of plain food. There was no lack, for instance, of salt meat. Some of the prices were as follows: quarter of veal or mutton, sixteen shillings; beef, four shillings a stone; a pig, seven shillings; a hen, four shillings; eggs, threepence each; fresh butter, two shillings and eightpence per pound.[1] Money value, at this time, was several times as much as at the present day.

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[1] *The Antiquities of York*, collected from the papers of Christopher Hildyard by James Torr. Many details of the siege are to be found here.

CHAPTER IV.

The Battle of Marston Moor.

THE Marquis of Newcastle, seeing that the siege was going sadly against him, appealed to the King for assistance, and, in response, Charles, who was in Oxford, despatched his nephew, Prince Rupert, at the head of a small force, with orders to attempt the relief of the city.

After various successes in Lancashire—at Liverpool, Bolton, Latham House, and other places—the Prince advanced with a largely augmented army of 20,000 men towards York. The city opened communications with him by means of beacon lights on the top of the Minster and Clifford's Tower, which were answered by fires on the Castle at Pontefract.

On the evening of June the 30th, the relief force occupied the towns of Boroughbridge and Knaresborough.

The Parliamentarians had been apprised of this movement of the Royalists, and were conscious that they were not equal to the twofold task of maintaining the siege and meeting a field force like that of the Prince. They therefore determined to leave

their trenches, and make an attempt to cut off his advance.

For this purpose the besieging army left York on July 1st, and proceeded to Hessay Moor, naturally supposing that the Prince would seek to

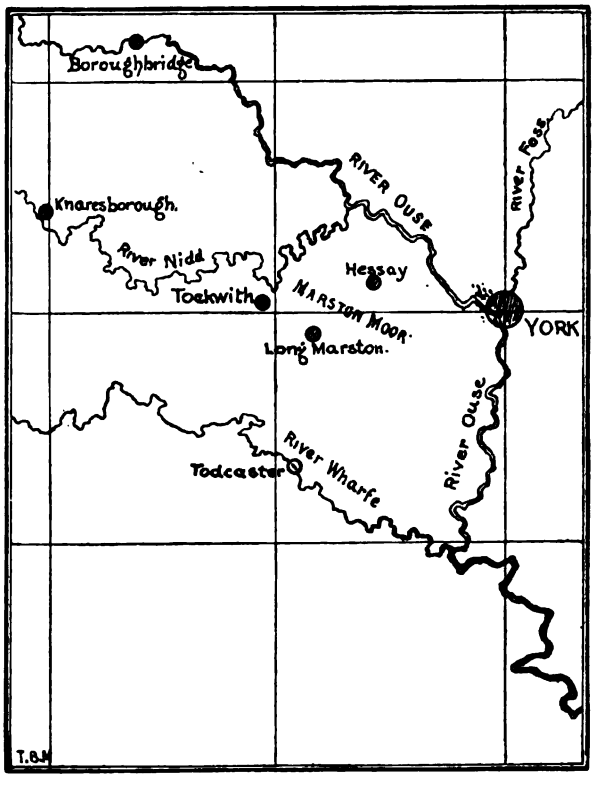

Fig. 28.—MAP ILLUSTRATING THE MOVEMENTS OF PRINCE RUPERT.

enter York on the west, in which case they would be certain to intercept him.

Rupert outwitted his would-be combatants. By a flank movement he crossed the Ouse near its

confluence with the Nidd, he placed the principal stream between himself and the enemy, and reached the N.E. suburbs of York on the evening of the very day that the siege was raised. On his march along the northern bank of the Ouse, Rupert seized at Poppleton a bridge of boats, which had been constructed by the Earl of Manchester, and was guarded by a regiment of dragoons. Manchester had really anticipated the movement of the Prince, and intended to make use of this bridge to pass his army over, in case the Royalists marched toward the city by the north bank of the river.[1]

Encamping his army on the Forest of Galtres, he entered York the same night by Monk Bar with a detachment of two hundred cavaliers.[2]

The appearance of the Prince in the city led to the most unrestrained expressions of delight on the part of the inhabitants and garrison. "Salutes were fired, the bells in the churches were rung, bonfires were kindled, and wild triumphant revelry and merriment filled the city, in place of the doubt and despair which had so lately possessed it!"

Rupert announced to the authorities his determination to increase his force from the garrison, and at once to give the Parliamentarians battle. The Marquis, who expected further reinforce-

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[1] J. L. Sanford, *Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*, p. 589. Poppleton is a little more than two miles from the city.

[2] S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, 1642-1649, is of opinion that Rupert did not actually enter York, vol. i, p. 439, *note*.

ments in a few days, and many other officers were against this plan.

The following words have been put into the lips of one of Rupert's officers by De Foe,[1] as expressing the unwisdom of the Prince's persistency in seeking an immediate engagement: "No action of this whole war had gained the Prince so much Honour, or the King's Affairs so much Advantage as this, had the Prince but had the Power to have restrained his Courage, and checked his fatal Eagerness for Fighting. Here was a Siege raised, a City relieved and furnished, with all things necessary in the Face of an Army, superior in Number by near 10,000 men, and commanded by a triumvirate of Generals—Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester. 'Twas the Enemy's business to fight, if possible, 'twas his (Rupert's) to avoid it; for having delivered the city, and put the Disgrace of raising the Siege upon the Enemy, he had nothing farther to do, but to have waited till he had seen what course the Enemy would take, and taken his farther Measures from their Motion."

There is a considerable show of reason in all this; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the Prince understood the King's wish to be the defeat of the Northern Parliamentary

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[1] *Memoirs of a Cavalier.* "This delightful novel is well known to have been frequently cited as a historical authority", *The Bibliographers' Manual of English Literature*, vol. ii, p. 614.

army, and feared that such a favourable opportunity of meeting these troops in the open field might not occur again.

On July 2nd, the Royalist army, comprising about 24,000 men, proceeded from York to challenge the army of the Parliament, crossing the Ouse at Poppleton, where the river was fordable, and where they had secured the Earl of Manchester's bridge of boats.

Newcastle having thrown up his command in disgust at Rupert's "friendship to precipitate counsels", the Prince himself assumed command, though the Marquis accompanied the force as a volunteer.

Meanwhile, the Parliamentarians, finding themselves out-manœuvred, had held a council of war, and had decided to march to Tadcaster, in order to intercept Rupert should he proceed southwards.

When the Royalists had passed Hessay and reached Marston Moor, the rearguard of the Parliamentary army was seen on the crest of the high land lying between the villages of Long Marston and Tockwith. Seeing that they were pursued, Generals Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester ordered an immediate return of all troops, and, early in the afternoon, the Parliamentary forces were drawn up in array of battle on the elevated ground just referred to, and saw on the moor below them that the Royalists were also preparing themselves to meet the approaching storm.

The various accounts of this battle differ very widely, no two accounts agreeing in every parti-

THE HIGH LAND ABOVE MARSTON MOOR.

Opp. p. 166.

Brill

cular. Anyone who has read the contemporary authorities will sympathise, more or less, with the bewildered historian who says, "I shall not undertake to describe this battle, because in all the accounts, I have seen, I meet with so little order

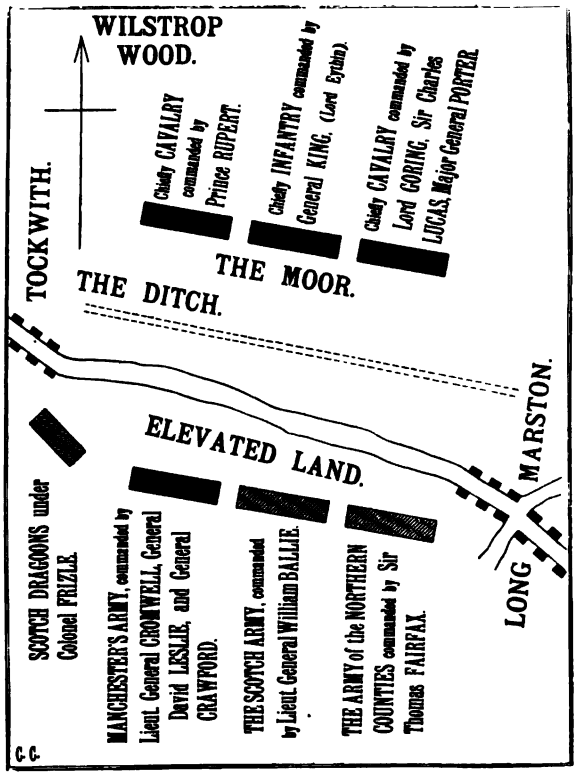
WILSTROP WOOD.
TOCKWITH.
Chiefly CAVALRY commanded by Prince RUPERT.
Chiefly INFANTRY commanded by General KING. (Lord Eythin).
Chiefly CAVALRY commanded by Lord GORING, Sir Charles LUCAS, Major General PORTER.
THE MOOR.
THE DITCH.
ELEVATED LAND.
MARSTON.
LONG
SCOTCH DRAGOONS under Colonel PRIZLER.
MANCHESTER'S ARMY, commanded by Lieut. General CROMWELL, General David LESLIE, and General CRAWFORD.
THE SCOTCH ARMY, commanded by Lieut. General William BALLIE.
THE ARMY of the NORTHERN COUNTIES commanded by Sir Thomas FAIRFAX.
C C.

Fig. 29.

The designations, *Army of the Northern Counties*, *Scotch Army*, *Manchester's Army*, only mean that these troops preponderated in the positions so indicated. The Scotch and English were much intermixed, in order that both should share the honour of victory or the disgrace of defeat.

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and clearness that I cannot expect to give a satisfactory idea of it."[1]

The plan (Fig. 29) indicates the general disposal of the opposing forces.

The Royalists stretched across the moor from east to west.

Their left wing was under the leadership of General Goring, Sir Charles Lucas, and Major-General Porter.

Their right wing was commanded personally by Prince Rupert. Both these wings were composed chiefly of cavalry.

The centre, consisting of musketeers and pikemen, including the splendid regiment of the Marquis of Newcastle, known as "Newcastle's lambs", because of their white undyed tunics,[2] was commanded by General King (Lord Eythin), a professional soldier, upon whose military skill the Royalists placed great reliance.

In advance of the Royalist position was a wide ditch, which can still be traced. This dyke was lined by musketeers, who proved a deadly foe to the Parliamentary troops, as they descended the hill and moved forward to reach the open moor.

The position of the Parliamentary front has already been indicated.

Their right wing, flanked by the village of Long

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[1] Rapin, Tindal ed., vol. ii, Bk. xxi, p. 499.

[2] It is stated by the Duchess of Newcastle that these brave retainers of the Earl refused to have their tunics dyed, saying that they preferred to dye them crimson with their blood.

Marston, was composed chiefly of the Yorkshire horse, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, under Lord Ferdinand Fairfax, supported by three regiments of Scotch horse, and also English and Scotch infantry.

The left wing, resting upon the village of Tockwith, was composed of the Earl of Manchester's horse, under the command of Lieut.-General Oliver Cromwell. This section was also strengthened by Scotch supports, commanded by General David Leslie. The infantry of this wing was commanded by Major-General Crawford. The Royalist front at this extremity extended beyond that of the Parliamentarians. An extension was therefore added to this wing in order to prevent it being outflanked. The troops forming this extension were Scotch dragoons under Colonel Frizle.

The pikemen, musketeers, and other troops, almost entirely Scotch, forming the centre, were commanded by Lieut.-General Ballie, under Alexander Leslie, the Earl of Leven.

> "On Marston Heath
> Met, front to front, the ranks of death;
> Flourish'd the trumpets fierce, and now
> Fired was each eye, and flush'd each brow!
> On either side loud clamours ring,
> 'God and the cause!' 'God and the King!'"[1]

Cannon shots were exchanged throughout the afternoon, but the engagement did not really

[1] Scott, *Rokeby*, Canto I, xii.

begin till after six in the evening, and then it raged without intermission till nearly midnight. "A summer's eve is a winter's day!"[1]

In this battle there were two men, one on each side, who were, above all others present, the beau-ideal of cavalry officers—Prince Rupert and Lieut.-General Cromwell, though the latter was little known. These men stood opposed to each other, and their fortunes largely decided the final result of the day.[2] Rupert appears to have

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[1] Thomas Fuller, *Worthies*, Part III, p. 225.

[2] The position occupied by Prince Rupert on this battlefield has been a frequent subject of dispute. Eliot Warburton, *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, contends that he commanded the left wing, quoting as his chief authority Whitelock, *Memorials of English Affairs*. Rapin de Thoyras, *Hist. Eng.*, Tindal ed., vol. ii, Bk. XXI, p. 499, also adopts this opinion. Against this theory there are many reliable authorities. Some of these say that other officers than Rupert commanded the left wing. Others state that he commanded the right wing. Others, again, in their account of the fight, embrace both these statements. Of these authorities the following claim consideration: The Royalist periodical, *Mercurius Aulicus*, B.M. Burney Newspapers, 1644, p. 1083; Sir Henry Slingsby, *Diary*, p. 112; Duchess of Newcastle, *Life of William Cavendish*, Bk. I, p. 48; Scoutmaster Watson, of the Parliamentary army, adopted by Rushworth, Part III, vol. ii, p. 633; Captain Stewart, of the Scotch army, *King's Pamphlets*, 4to, No. 164, Tract 19; Mrs. Hutchinson, *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 203; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 124. This list leaves a mass of corroborative evidence unnamed. Of later historians, S. R. Gardiner, *Hist. Great Civil War*, vol. i, p. 439; and J. L. Sanford, *Studies and Illustrations*, p. 595, place Rupert in command of the right wing of the Royalists.

About three years ago I wrote an account of this battle, based on Rapin and Warburton, for a newspaper, and the article was

MARSTON MOOR: ERNEST CROFTS, A.R.A.

Opp. p 171.

regarded Cromwell as a foeman worthy of his steel. A little while before the battle, the Prince inquired of a prisoner the names of the Parliamentary leaders. "General Leven, my Lord Fairfax, and Sir Thomas Fairfax," answered the man.

"But is Cromwell there?" continued Rupert.

Being informed that he was, he said, "Will they fight?" but, without waiting for a reply, added, "If they will, they shall have fighting enough!"

The man was shortly after released, and quickly made his way back to his own army. There he related to the Generals in council what had passed, not forgetting to inform Cromwell that Rupert had specially asked for him, and had said they should have *fighting enough.*

As soon as the man had finished his story, Cromwell, who had listened to him with eagerness, exclaimed, "And, if it please God, so shall he!"

Who had the upper hand at length will soon be seen.

"It was now between six and seven, and Rupert, calling for provisions, dismounted, and began to eat his supper. A large number of his followers did the like. Newcastle strolled toward

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afterwards circulated as a reprint. I am persuaded, however, that this view of the battle is incorrect. There can be little doubt that Prince Rupert and Colonel Cromwell stood face to face.

his coach to solace himself with a pipe. Before he had time to take a whiff the battle had begun."[1] The squadrons of Cromwell were the first to assume, on any large scale, the offensive. They charged and re-charged the Royalist right wing, and always with deadly effect. In one of these terrific charges a bullet grazed the neck of Cromwell, alarming his men lest he should be severely hurt, but, merrily exclaiming, "A miss is as good as a mile!" onward he rode.[2] Such was Cromwell's success that the living remnant of the forces under Rupert were chased from the field, flying "along Wilstrop woodside as fast and thick as could be".[3] Rupert, it is said, lay for some time hidden in a beanfield, and finally escaped only by the fleetness of his horse.[4]

A somewhat similar scene was witnessed at the other extremity of the line of battle. The Royalists completely routed the right wing of the Parliamentary forces. The horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax gained a partial and temporary triumph, chasing some of the enemy towards York. But before the furious onslaughts of the Royalist troopers the infantry turned and fled in the wildest panic. Before Sir Thomas regained the field, after the pursuit of the Royalists who had given

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[1] Gardiner, *Hist. Civil War*, vol. i, p. 442.

[2] Quoted, Davenport Adams, *Memorable Battles*, vol. i, p. 296.

[3] Slingsby, *Diary*, pp. 112-113, and Duchess of Newcastle, Bk. I, p. 48.

[4] Vicars, *Parl. Chron.*, Part III, p. 272.

way, the disaster was complete. He says: "I must ever remember with thankfulness the goodness of God to us this day: for, on returning back, I got in among the enemy, who stood up and down the field. So, taking the signal out of my hat, I passed through them for one of their own commanders, and got to my Lord of Manchester's horse in the other wing, only with a cut in my cheek, which was given me in the first charge, and a shot which my horse received."

But how were matters going in the centre or main battle? The Parliamentarians had forced and crossed the defended ditch, but the contest was so stubborn that neither side could boast much advantage. The sounding of victory on the Royalist left wing, however, proved the signal for a sudden change. The victorious Goring and his comrades fell upon the right flank of the Parliamentary centre. They "dashed into the very heart of that fierce and solemn host, scattering them like spray before some storm-driven ship, and plunging still onward to the front of their reserve!" Within a short time the Scotch were in retreat, and the "whole mass, pursuers and pursued, swept up the hill." Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, believing that the battle was irretrievably lost, fled from the field, and never drew bridle till he reached Leeds.

So complete was this second triumph that the Royalists proceeded to seize the Parliamentary stores and baggage on the top of the hill.

Now "came the business of the day!" This was Cromwell's opportunity of securing lasting renown as a military genius, by snatching a victory which the Royalists had already two-thirds won. His work on the Royalist right wing being over, he thundered down upon the right flank of the enemy's centre. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had rallied some of his broken troops, also took possession of the ground just vacated by the Royalist centre, as they pressed after the retiring centre of the Parliamentarians, and fell upon them in the rear.

The charging cavalry under Cromwell and Fairfax met with a stout resistance. Cromwell was withstood by "Newcastle's lambs", but they went down before the Parliamentary sabres, and perished almost to a man.[1] Nor did the cavaliers, who in many a dashing charge had swept all before them, prove a match for the terrific onset of the Ironsides,[2] flushed, equally with themselves, with the success of a conspicuous victory.

The moon that night looked down on a woful scene! By ten o'clock the Royalist forces were completely wrecked—hundreds were prisoners on the field—larger numbers were flying to neighbouring garrisons before the pursuing victors—

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[1] Warburton says that thirty only survived.

[2] Cromwell's troopers were first called Ironsides on this occasion. See William Lilly, *Life and Times*, ed. 1715, p. 78.

while upwards of three thousand lay in mangled heaps of slain.

The scattered forces of Rupert principally sought refuge in York. They arrived at Micklegate Bar about midnight. Here "a dreadful scene of confusion ensued, none being allowed to enter but those belonging to the garrison. During the tedious admission many fainted with fatigue and loss of blood, so that the air was filled with cries and lamentations."

Many of the wounded took refuge in the village of Kirkhammerton, not far from Marston Moor, but on the other side of the Ouse. In the Church Register there were many entries, for weeks after the battle, of soldiers who died from their wounds. This Register was unfortunately lost—perhaps burned—some years ago.

There fell in this battle more than 4,000 men. Among the slain on the side of the Parliament was a nephew of Cromwell. It is said it was the sight of this young man being struck down by a cannon-shot that caused Cromwell to move to the attack. A son of Lord Fairfax was also mortally wounded.

Among those who died in the cause of the King were Lord Kerry, Sir Francis Dacres, Sir William Lampton, Sir Charles Slingsby,[1] Sir William Wentworth, Sir Marmaduke Luddon, Sir Richard

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[1] Buried in York Minster. *Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 114.

Gledhill, Colonel Fenwick, Sir Richard Graham, and Captain John Baird, while General Porter, Sir Charles Lucas, and a son of Lord Goring were among the prisoners.

The victors also captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, 130 barrels of gunpowder, 10,000 stand of arms, forty-seven colours, and other materials of war.

Upon the return of the defeated Prince to York, the offended Marquis sent word to him that he would stay no longer in the city, and immediately repaired with his friends to Scarborough, and set sail for the Continent. Neither did Rupert remain in York, but sought to join Colonel Clavering in Lancashire.

The Earl of Clarendon[1] expresses great disgust at the conduct of these two men. "This may be said of it, that the like was never done or heard, or read of before: that two great Generals should both agree in nothing else but in leaving that good city, and the whole country, as a prey to the enemy, who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory."

Their famous victory, and the departure of Newcastle and the Prince from York, augured well for the Parliamentarians, and they counted the city now an easy prey. They therefore resumed their position in the trenches, in order to continue the siege.

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[1] *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, vol. ii, Part ii, p. 505.

CHAPTER V.

Miscellaneous Events: An Old Cottage.—Young Walton.—Flight of the Earl of Leven.—Gamekeeper's Cottage.—Among the Slain.—Prince Rupert's Dog.

BEFORE continuing the story of the siege, it may be well to devote a little space to miscellaneous facts and incidents connected with the memorable battle described in the last chapter.

Little more than two years ago, there stood on the north side of Marston Moor, between Marston Station and Wilstrop Wood, a small ancient farmhouse possessing some interest in connection with this battle. This house, though permitted to stand, was superseded, about a century ago, by a larger house built about two hundred yards distant. This old house, and the new one, were occupied by successive generations of a family named Easby, for a period of nearly 500 years, the last tenant of that name dying in 1877. It was a carefully preserved tradition of

Fig. 30.

this family that a General of cavalry occupied the old house on the night of July 1st, 1644—the eve of the battle of Marston Moor.[1]

The nephew of Cromwell, who fell in this battle, was the son of Oliver's younger sister Margaret, the wife of Colonel Valentine Walton. Carlyle, who has rescued the letters of Cromwell from a wilful and ignominious neglect, presents to us the letter in which the General reports the death of young Walton to the bereaved father.[2] The letter runs thus:

"Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. Sir, you know my own trials this way, but the Lord supported me with this, that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russell and myself he could not express it. It was so great above his pain. This he said to us. Indeed, it was admirable. A little after, he said, one thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him what that was. He told me it was, that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies. At his fall, his horse being killed with the bullet, and, as I am informed, three horses more, I am told he bid them open to the right and left, that he might see the rogues run."

Carlyle, who calls this fight "an enormous hurly-burly of fire and smoke, steel-flashings, and death-tumult", concurs in the opinion that the stray cannon-shot, which proved fatal to Cromwell's

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[1] MS. in possession of Mr. John Daniel, Holgate, York.

[2] *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, xxi.

nephew, also roused his humour to the charging point, and brought on the general battle.

Reference has been made to the flight of the Earl of Leven to Leeds. The story is too entertaining to be passed over. The incident is thus narrated:

"As for Generall Lesselie, in the beginning of this flight haveing that part of the army quite brocken, where he had placed himself, by the valour of the Prince, he imagined, and was confermed by the opinione of others then upon the place with him, that the battell was irrecoverably lost, seeing that they were ffleeing upon all hands; thierfore they humblie intreated his excellence to retire and wait his better fortune, which, without farder advysing, he did; and never drew bridle untill he came the lenth of Leads, having ridden all that night with a cloak of *drap de berrie* about him, belonging to this gentleman of whom I write, then in his retinue, with many other officers of good qualitie. It was neer twelve the next day before they had the certanety who was master of the field, when at length ther arryves ane express, sent by David Lesselie, to acquaint the General they had obtained a most glorious victory, and that the Prince, with his brocken trupes, was fled from Yorke. The General, quite spent with his long journey in the night, had casten himselfe doune upon a bed to rest; when this gentleman coming quyetly into his chamber, he awoke, and hastily cryes out, 'Lieutenant Collonell, what news?' 'All is safe, may it

please your Excellence; the Parliament's armie his obtained a great victory!' and then delyvers the letter. The Generall, upon hearing of this, knocked upon his breast, and sayes, 'I would to God I had dyed upon the place!' He returned to the army next day."[1]

About four hundred yards south of the site of the old farmhouse, occupied for so long by the Easby family, and very near to Wilstrop Wood, there may be seen the ruins of another old house which was pulled down recently. This cottage was locally known as "Gamekeeper's Cottage", and has a tradition of a sorrowful nature associated with it. When the Ironsides of Cromwell scattered the Royalist cavalry, part of the broken body of horsemen fled along the woodside, which route took them to a gateway, still in use, situated only a few yards from the cottage just referred to. A servant girl, who was within, seeing them making for the gate, ran out by the back door in order to throw it open. Unfortunately, the poor girl's generous endeavour resulted in her death. In their headlong flight the troopers knocked her down, and the poor creature was trampled beneath the iron-shod feet of their horses.[2]

Not a few touching stories have been related of this battle-field when occupied by only the victors

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[1] James, eleventh Lord Somerville, *Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii, pp. 349-351.

[2] MS. in possession of Mr. John Daniel, Holgate, York.

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THE KNIGHT'S FAREWELL: ERNEST CROFTS, A.R.A.

Opp. p. 181.

and the slain. Two of these are admirably narrated in *The Battlefields of Yorkshire.*

Mr. Grainge says: "After the battle, Sir Charles Lucas was desired by his captors to point out upon the battle-field such of the dead as he thought proper to select for private interment, and from among the vast number of his friends who had fallen he could only discriminate one who had a bracelet of hair about his wrist, which he requested might be taken off, as he knew an honourable lady who would thankfully receive it. What a fruitful theme of conjecture this little incident affords! pledges of love exchanged—the tender parting, and the last adieu.

"Another anecdote is related of this field, which shows that the age of chivalry was not then extinct, and that the rude Roundhead felt its influence as well as the gallant Cavalier. Charles Townley, Esq., having fallen in the battle, his lady, Mary, daughter of Francis Trappes, Esq., who was then with her father at Knaresborough, hastened next morning to the battle-field to search for his body whilst the attendants of the camp were stripping and burying the dead. There she was accosted by a general officer, to whom she told her melancholy story. He heard her with great tenderness, but earnestly desired her to leave the place, where, besides the distress of witnessing such a scene, she might probably be insulted. She complied, and a trooper was immediately called to take her behind him to Knaresborough. On inquiry, the officer who had shown so much

humanity, and to whom she was so greatly indebted, proved to be Lieutenant-General Cromwell."[1]

Nor must we forget another touching incident. Among the dead on Marston Field was Prince Rupert's favourite dog. This animal had been his follower for years, and his companion throughout his exile consequent upon his father's[2] misfortunes. In the general confusion caused by the unexpected commencement of the battle, this faithful creature was forgotten, and it rushed into the fray with Rupert's Life Guards, and was killed. The carcass was found next morning by those engaged in burying the slain.[3] Some of the Parliamentary writers display a lack of human kindness and an abundance of superstition in rejoicing over the poor dog's death.

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[1] See Whitaker, *Life and Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe*, p. 165, *note.*

[2] King Frederick of Bohemia.

[3] *King's Pam*, 4to, 166, Tract 14; Vicars, *Parl. Chron.*, Pt. III, p. 277, etc.

SIGNATURE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

CHAPTER VI.

The Official Account of the Battle, and the Order for a Day of Public Thanksgiving.

ONE of the most interesting documents of this period is the original Official Report of the battle presented to the Parliament by the Generals in command of the victorious troops. This Report, with an Order for a Day of Public Thanksgiving, was published ten days after the fight. This paper, which, in addition to its unique character, is valuable as presenting a good summary of the event, is as follows:—

"A LETTER

from

GENERALL LEVEN, the LORD FAIRFAX, and the EARL OF MANCHESTER;

To the Committee of both Kingdoms: and by them communicated to the Parliament concerning the great

VICTORY

It hath pleased God to give them over the Forces under the Command of Prince Rupert and the

Marquesse of Newcastle, at Marstam-moor, neer York, July the second 1644.

Signed thus;

LEVEN.

LINDSEY. F. FAIRFAX.
THO: HATCHER. MANCHESTER.

Expressing also what number of the Enemy are slain, what number taken prisoners, and what Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition the enemy lost.

Also an ORDER of the Commons assembled in Parliament for Thursday, the 18 of this present July, for a day of public Thanksgiving throughout the whole Kingdom.

Die Mercurii 10. Julii 1644.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this Letter be forthwith printed and published: H Elsynge, Cl. P. D. Com:

London: Printed for Ed. Husbands, July 12, 1644.

"Right Honourable;

"Since our last to your Lordship the Condition of our affairs is not a little changed, for on Munday last, upon notice of Prince Ruperts Marching from Knaresborough toward us: we resolved, and accordingly drew out the Armies to have met him, and for that end did march that same night to Long Marston Moor, about 4 miles of the west side of York, but he having notice thereof, did passe with his Armie at Borough Bridge, and so put the River of Ouse between him and us: whereby we were

disenabled to oppose his passage into Yorke, the bridge we built on the West side of the Towne being so weake, that we durst not adventure to transport our Armies upon it: This made us resolve the next morning to March to Tadcaster, for stopping of his passage Southward: and the Armies being so far on their way, as the van was within a mile of it, notice was sent to us by our horsemen, who were upon our Rear, that the Prince his armie, Horse and Foote, were advanced the length of Long Marston Moore, and was ready to fall upon them; whereupon we recalled the Armie, and drew them up on a Corne-hill, upon the south side of the Moore, in the best way we could, so far as the straitnesse of the fields, and other disadvantages of the place could permit; before both armies were in a readinesse it was seven a clocke at night, about which Time they advanced the one to the other: whereupon followed a very hot Encounter for the space of three hours, whereof (by the great blessing and good providence of God) the issue was the totall Routing of the Enemies armie, the loss of all their Ordnance to the Number of 20, Their ammunition and Baggage, about 100 Colours, and ten thousand armes, there were killed upon the place about 3.000 of them, whereof many are chief Officers, and 1.500 prisoners taken, amongst whom there are above 100 Officers, in which number is Sir Charles Lucas, Lieut: General to the Marquesse of Newcastles horse, Porter Major Generall, and Major Generall Tillier, besides diverse Colonells, Lieu-

tenant Colonells, and Majors; Our losse, God be praised, is not very great, being only of one Lieutenant Colonell, some few Captaines, and about two or three hundred common souldiers. The Prince, in a great distraction, with a few horsemen, and almost no foote, marched the next morning from Yorke Northwards: We are now lying down again in our old Leaguer before Yorke, which we are in hopes, in a few dayes to gaine; and are resolved to send a great part of our Cavalrie after Prince Rupert: we having nothing to adde, but as the glory of all the Successe belongeth unto God, and the benefit, wee hope, shall redound to the whole Kingdome; we have appointed this next Sabbath for a day of public thanksgiving throughout the Armies; so your Lordships would appoint a day for the same to be kept throughout the Kingdom and Notice sent to us thereof, that wee may altogether joyne in it, and we shall continue

Your Lordships affectionate Friends
and Servants,

LEVEN.

LINDSAY. F. FAIRFAX.
THO: HATCHER. MANCHESTER.

From the Leaguer before
York, 5 July 1644."

The Order is here produced in *facsimile*, showing the style of the whole document:—

Die Lune, 8. Iulii, 1644.

IT is this day Ordered by the LORDS and COMMONS assembled in Parliament, That Thursday come sevennight shall be set apart and appointed for a day of Publike Thanksgiving to be rendred unto Almighty God, for his great Blessing and full Victory over Prince RVPERTS Army in York-shire, to be kept in London and Westminster, and all other parts of the Kingdome.

H: Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

CHAPTER VII.

The Siege recommenced. — The Conditions of Surrender. — The Garrison marches out.—A Chaplain's Diary.—The United Armies divide.—Payment to the Scots.—Use of the Blue-coat School.—Destruction to Buildings.—The Minster.—The Churches of St. Olave, St. Sampson, St. Dennis, and St. Nicholas. — Clifford's Tower.— The Walls and Bars.— Restoration.—Withdrawal of the Garrison.

THE siege recommenced on the 4th of July, and from this time the ultimate fall of the city was inevitable.

The battle of Marston Moor, which played such an important part in deciding the issue of the siege, must ever be regarded as an epoch-making event. Practically, it decided whether England should continue to writhe under the tyranny of an absolute monarchy or rejoice in the liberties of a free people. Writing to Prince Rupert, prior to the battle of Marston Moor, the King said: "If York be lost, I shall esteem my crown little else. Wherefore I command and conjure you, by the duty and affection which I know you bear me, you immediately march, according to your first intention, with all your forces to the relief of York." Charles rightly estimated the important results involved in the contest before York. The Parliamentary triumph at Marston

Moor ruined his cause, and it only required the battle of Naseby, fought about a year later (June 14, 1645) to consummate his downfall.

York capitulated on the 16th of July 1644.

Sir William Constable and Colonel Lambert had been admitted into the city as the deputies of the Parliamentary forces, hostages being sent out for their security and safe return, to arrange the terms of surrender with the garrison. This deputation was assisted, at a later stage of the negotiations, by Lord Humby and Colonel Montague.

The conditions of surrender, which were particularly favourable to the city, read as follows[1]:—

"Articles agreed upon, between Alexander Earl of Leven, Generall of the Scottish forces, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, and the Earl of Manchester, Generalls of the English forces about Yorke on the one part, and Sir Thomas Glenham, Knight, Governour of the City of Yorke, and Colonell Generall of the Northerne Army, anent the surrender and delivery of the said City, with the Forts, Towers, Cannon, Ammunition, and Furniture of War belonging thereto, in manner after specified to the said Generalls for the use of the King and Parliament, the 15th day of July, Ann. Dom. 1644.

"1. The said Sir Thomas, as governour of the said City, shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the Forts, Towers, Cannon, Ammunition, and Furniture of war belonging thereto, betwixt this and the 16th day of July, instant, at or about the eleventh hour thereof in the forenoon, to the said generalls, or any in their name, for the use aforesaid, in the manner, and upon conditions after written.

"2. That the Governours, and all Officers, and Souldiers both

[1] As published by authority.

horse and foot, the Governours, Officers and Souldiers in Cliffords Tower, the Officers and Souldiers in the Sconce, the Officers and Souldiers in the Traine and outworks, shall march out of the city, on horse back, with their Arms, Flying colors, Drums beating, Matches lighted on both ends, Bullett in their mouth, and that every souldier shall have twelve charges of powder.

"3. That the Officers and Souldiers shall not march above ten miles a day, that they shall have accomodation of quarter, and conveniencie of carriages, that a Troop of Horse, out of every of the three Armies, shall attend upon them, for their convoy in their march (that no injury nor affront be offered them) to Skipton, or the next Garrison town, within 16 miles of the Princes Army.

"4. That such Officers and Souldiers as are sick or hurt, and cannot march out of the Town, shall have libertie to stay within, until they be recovered, and then shall have passage given them to go unto the Princes Armie, wherever it shall be, or to their own House and estates, where they may rest quiet, or whether else they shall please, that it may be recommended to my Lord Fairfax for their subsistance during their cure or being ill.

"5. That all Officers and Souldiers wives, children, and servants, now in Towne, may have liberty to goe along with their husbands, or to them, or, if they please, to return to their own Houses and estates, to injoy them, under such contributions, as the rest of the County paies, that they may have liberty to carry with them, their goods, and have a convenient time, and carriages, allowed them, to carry them away.

"6. That no Officer or Souldier be stopt, or plundered, upon their march.

"7. That no man shall intice any Officers or Souldiers, as we march out of the Towne, with any promise of preferment, or reward, or any other ground whatsoever.

"8. That the citizens and inhabitants may injoy all their privileges, which formerly they did at the beginning of their troubles, and may have freedome of trade, both by land and sea, paying such duties and customs, as all other cities, and townes, under the obedience of King and parliament.

"9. That the Garrison which shall be placed here, shall be, two parts in three, at least, of Yorkshire men, and no free quarter shall be put upon any, without his own consent, and that the Army shall not enter the City.

"10. That in all charges the Citizens, Residents, and Inhabitants, shall beare onely such part with the County at large, as was formerly used in all other assessments.

"11. That all Citizens, Gentlemen, Residents, Sojourners, and every other person, within the city, at any time, shall when they please, have free liberty to remove themselves, their families, and goods, and to dispose thereof, and of their estates, at their pleasures (according to the lawes of the land), either to live at their own Houses, or elsewhere; and to enjoy their goods and estates without molestation, and to have protections and safeguards for that purpose, so that they may rest quietly at their abodes, and to travaile safely and freely about their occasions; and for their better removall, they may have libertie of safe conduct, and be furnished with horses and carriages, paying for their carriages, reasonable rates.

"12. That all those gentlemen, and others, whatsoever, that have goods within the citie, and are absent themselves, may have free libertie, to take, carry away, and dispose of these goods, as in the last article.

"13. That neither Churches nor other buildings be defaced, nor any plunderings, nor taking of any man's person, or any part of his estate; and that justice (according to law) within the citie, shall be administered in all cases by the magistrates, and be assisted therein, if need be, by the garrison.

"14. That all persons, whose dwellings are in the citie, though now absent, may have the benefit of these articles, as if they were present within the citie.

"THO. GLENHAM."

These conditions of surrender were forwarded by the gallant Governor[1] for the signatures of the

[1] Sir Thomas Glemham was the son of Sir Henry Glemham, of Glemham Parva, Suffolk, and Ann, daughter of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset. He was educated at Oxford, and knighted by James I in 1617. He served in the German wars, and afterwards held the command of Colonel in the Scotch wars. He was appointed Governor of York by Charles I. After the capitulation of the city, he held Carlisle and Oxford for the King. The exact

Parliamentary Generals, and were accepted with very slight alterations. For instance, the sixth article, which was secured by the other conditions, and was therefore unnecessary, was struck out, and the ninth article was amended by the addition of a final clause, which read, "before the Governor and Lord Mayor be acquainted."

These conditions were signed, on behalf of the besiegers, as follows:—"Ferd. Fairfax; Manchester; Adam Hepborne; Lord Humbee; William Constable."

On the 16th of July the Parliamentary forces were drawn up on each side of the road leading from Micklegate Bar, for the distance of about a mile beyond the city walls; and through this grim, but for the time peaceful street of armed men, the garrison which had manfully sustained a siege of thirteen weeks marched away toward Skipton, leaving the city, thirty-five pieces of ordnance, three thousand stand of arms, and much ammunition in the hands of the victors.

In one instance the articles of surrender appear to have been violated by some troopers of Manchester's force, who, when called upon to explain their conduct, pleaded ignorance of the conditions. These men had pillaged some carts conveying goods

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date of his death is uncertain. His will was proved by his brother Henry, 13th March 1649-50 (Leslie Stephen, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He died in Holland, and was buried at Glemham Parva (Davy, *Suffolk*, Ped. Gl.). It is very doubtful whether there be any portrait of him in existence.

from the city, and their commander did his utmost to recover the missing booty. A proclamation was read at the head of every troop of horse in Manchester's force, stating that the penalty of death would be executed upon any man who was found in possession of spoil taken from the late garrison or inhabitants of the city.[1]

The chaplain to the Scottish troops, Robert Douglas, in his *Diary*[2] thus describes the surrender of the city. After relating the story of the battle, he says: "That night we stayed in the fields all night: and on the morn I viewed the dead. We keeped the field all that day. Upon the 4th we came again before the city, and summoned the city to surrender; but the Governor, Sir Thomas Glenin, answered he could not render up on such absolute terms: it took a time before we could be ready to storm. Batteries were made, cannons planted, ladders brought. After all were in readiness, the battery on our quarter shot down a tour. After, one was yet sent in desyring them to render; they desyred a parley. . . . . At last, on the 16th day, they rendered on condition the officers and souldiers should march out with arms, bag and baggage, and that the city should be subject to the Parliament as other cities. They rendered the city about 12 o'clock: they were marching till six o'clock. At that tyme the three

[1] Sim. Ash: *A Continuation of True Intelligence* (July 27, 1644), p. 10.

[2] *Historical Fragments of Scottish Affairs* (1833), p. 65.

Generalls marched with a great train to the Minster. They desired me to pray, and intimat the thanksgiving for the great victory to be upon the 18th day. I went to pulpit, and first exhorted out of Psalm 60, verse 9, after that a prayer, after the prayer a psalm, then an exhortation to the souldiers to abstain from sin and injuring the inhabitants, after all the blessing."

Lord Fairfax was installed Governor in the place of Sir Thomas Glemham, and then the three forces, whose combined strength had reduced the city to submission, separated. Fairfax, of course, remained in the city. The Scots marched northward, and Manchester's force journeyed to the south.

The Scots, subsequently, received £200,000 for their services, which amount was paid to them in one of the chambers of the Guildhall—the room used for the sittings of the City Council.

The Blue-coat School in Peaseholm Green possesses a pathetic interest in connection with this great siege and the battle of Marston Moor. This building has been utilised for various purposes since its foundation by Sir John Langdon, Lord Mayor of York, for impotent poor, in the fifteenth century. After the battle of Marston it was turned into a hospital for the wounded soldiers of the garrison who had escaped the slaughter of the battle-field. Earlier in the siege it had been used as a store for arms, and as a powder-magazine.

There are many buildings in York which bear witness to the havoc wrought by the besiegers.

The Minster did not sustain so much damage as might be expected from its extreme prominence. Its chief loss consisted in the destruction of much valuable glass, and the removal of monumental brasses. It has been said that Cromwell stabled the horses of his cavalry in the nave. This is an exaggeration, originated by hatred towards the man who was one of the chief agents in the overthrow of the Royalist cause.

Fig. 31.—THE CITY AND ITS MINSTER.

After the siege, the Church of St. Olave, Marygate, had to be entirely rebuilt: and no wonder, when its roof had been turned into a battery of artillery![1]

The tower of St. Sampson, Church Street, was wrecked by the Parliamentary cannon, and has not been restored, the upper and shattered portions being simply removed, and a roof added.

It is said that the Church of St. Dennis, in Walmgate, at the time of the siege, had a "handsome steeple". This steeple was penetrated by a shot from one of the Parliamentary batteries, and

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[1] Letter of Sir H. Vane, dated June 12th, 1644. *Pelham Papers*, 33,084, fol. 46.

being further injured at a later date by a storm, was removed in 1798 as perilous.

Reference has been made to a church which stood outside of Walmgate Bar—that of St. Nicholas. This church was completely wrecked; though its ruins, consisting of part of the tower and south wall, were to be seen fully a century later. Some of the stones of this church were utilised in building the church at Dunnington, a village a few miles east of York. The bells were taken down to make cannon of, but Lord Fairfax prevented the mischief. In 1653 they were hung in the Church of St. John, Ousebridge end.

The Royalists erected a platform on Clifford's Tower, and mounted cannon there. This place received such attention from the battery of the besiegers at Heslington, that two sides of the square tower were completely broken down, and had to be rebuilt.

The fortifications, especially at two or three points, suffered terribly. Walmgate Bar was "beaten down as low as the gate".[1] Immediately upon the occupation of the city by the Parliament, orders were issued for the restoration of these works. Walmgate Bar was finished in 1648. About this time the walls from Walmgate to the Red Tower (Foss Islands) were also restored, and another of the Bars underwent repair—the one at Bootham, which presents

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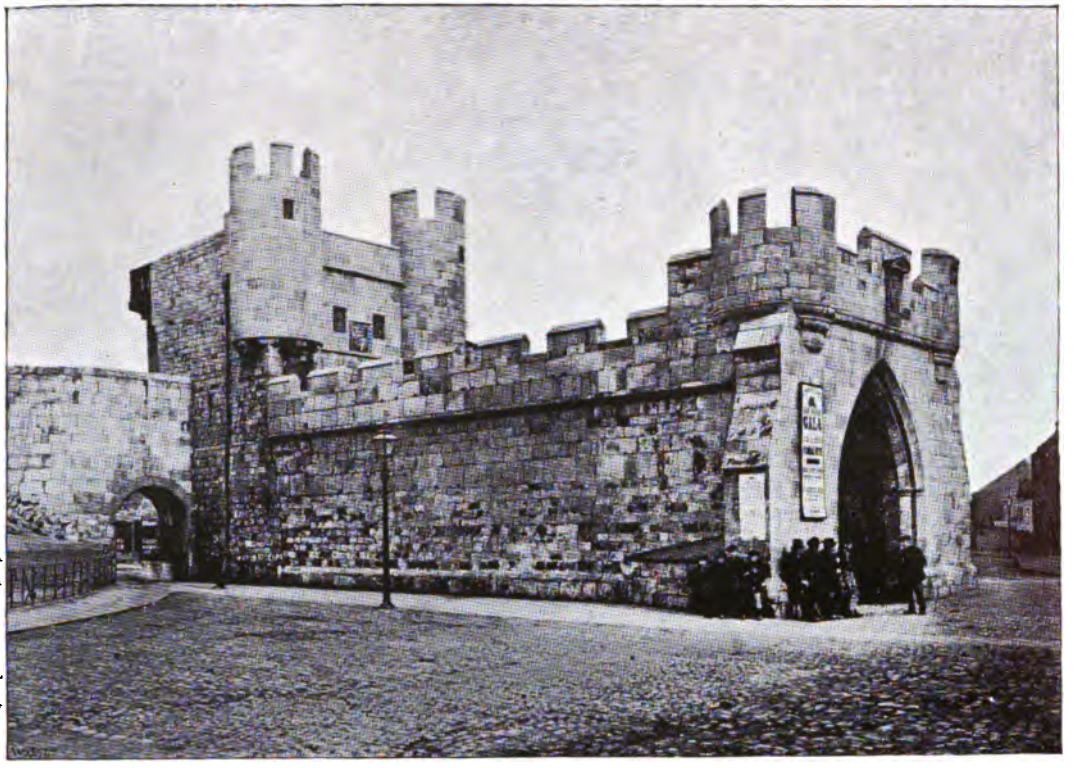
[1] *Fortifications of York*, p. 39.



WALMGATE BAR.

Opp. p. 196.

[illegible]

some features in common with the one at Walmgate.[1]

The garrison was withdrawn from York by the order of Parliament, on February 2nd, 1646, a small force of sixty men being stationed at Clifford's Tower. The custody of the city was conferred on the Lord Mayor.

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[1] *Fortifications of York*, p. 40.

CHAPTER VIII.

Execution of Colonel Morris.—Cromwell in York again.—Monk passes through York.—Restoration of the Walls.—Clifford's Tower blown up.—Danish Troops in York.—Castlegate Postern.—Standing Army of England.

THERE is not much of a military character to relate concerning York during the latter half of the Stuart period.

On August 23rd, 1649, a notable political execution was carried out here, the victims being Colonel John Morris and Lieutenant Blackburn. Morris had greatly distinguished himself by seizing Pontefract Castle for the King. He entered the Castle with nine confederates, disguised as villagers, bringing new bedding for the garrison. They "fell upon the guards, tumbled them into a dungeon, surprised the Governor in his bed, and the Castle was won!"[1] Colonel Morris was appointed Governor, his commission being signed by Prince Charles on behalf of the King. The place was compelled to surrender in March 1649, when Colonel Morris and Lieutenant Blackburn, being excluded from the general conditions of surrender, valiantly broke

[1] *Surtees*, vol. xl, p. 14, *note*.

through the besiegers. They were both taken as they were endeavouring to get abroad, and were brought to York, where they were tried before Thorpe and Puleston at the Assizes in August.[1] This was an act of injustice, for General Lambert, as a special condition on the surrender of the Castle, had promised them their lives if they could cut their way out. Their trial was a farce. Morris protested against being tried by a civil court, and requested that his case might go before a court-martial, but in vain. He desired counsel, but this was also denied. He was even heavily ironed before a verdict was found against him. Both prisoners were sentenced to death. The night before their execution they almost effected their escape, the attempt being frustrated by a point of honour and gallantry. Morris had descended the walls of York Castle by a rope, which his partner endeavouring to do after him, by haste or misadvertency fell, and broke his leg. "This misfortune cost them both their lives, for the Colonel would not leave his unhappy companion, but, out of a noble spirit of generosity, stood by him till they were both retaken."[2] They were executed next day.

In addition to his appearance in York after the battle of Marston Moor, Oliver Cromwell is reported to have visited the city in 1650. Drake, the historian of York, says: "July 4th, 1650, came

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[1] *State Trials.*

[2] *Eg. MS.*, B.M., 1048, fol. 101. Footnote in pencil.

General Cromwell to York in an expedition made into Scotland, at which time all the artillery of the Tower were discharged. The next day he dined with the Lord Mayor, and the following set forward to Scotland. To compliment His Excellency, and to show their zeal for the cause, our magistrates now thought fit to take down the King's arms at Micklegate[1] and Bootham Bars, through both which he must needs pass in his journey, and put up the State's arms in their stead."[2]

While Protector, Cromwell appointed General Monk, who had formerly served on the Royalist side, to the command of the Parliamentary forces in Scotland. At the death of the Protector, Monk marched at the head of his troops into England. He entered York January 1660,[3] and though the people could not be certain as to what cause he would espouse, he was received with demonstrations of welcome. As is well known, Monk did great service in promoting the restoration of the monarchy, and was rewarded by being created Duke of Albemarle and joint Admiral of the Fleet with Prince Rupert. On the occasion of his visit to York, he entered the city by Goodramgate Bar, which has ever since been known as Monk Bar.

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[1] Lockwood and Cates say *not* Micklegate Bar.

[2] This expedition resulted in the victory of Dunbar Drove, Sept. 3rd, 1650.

[3] The Rev. Joseph Hunter, in his *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, page 416, gives a very graphic account of some events of this crisis, taken from the MS. of Sir Philip Monckton.

In the year 1666 the walls of York were repaired between Monk Bar and Layerthorpe Postern, and those near Bootham Bar were restored in 1669. In 1673 the walls between Walmgate Bar and the Red Tower were repaired.

We must again refer to Clifford's Tower. At night, on the 23rd of April (the Festival of St. George), 1684, it was blown up, but whether by accident or intent has never been determined. Since that time no restoration has been attempted. The ruins are now preserved by the Government as a national monument of the historic events of the past.

During the winter 1689-1690, York assumed a very martial aspect. A large body of Danish troops, numbering 1,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry, was quartered in the city and vicinity. These men were under the command of the Duke of Wirtenburg, and were *en route* for Ireland, for the purpose of aiding William Prince of Orange against James II, who, after his rejection by the English people, sought to raise an Irish army by which to force his way back to the throne.

An unimportant restoration of part of the fortifications took place in 1699. Castlegate Postern was rebuilt in this year, but the structure was altogether removed during the present century, in 1826.

It is well to remember the standing army of England dates from this period. So early as the reign of Richard II (1377-1399), an attempt was

made to raise a standing army. For a brief period this King kept a body of 4,000 archers,[1] but the excesses of these men only irritated the people, and helped to make the reign most unpopular. No subsequent sovereign seems to have seriously contemplated keeping an armed force until the seventeenth century. The Royal Horse Guards and the Coldstream Guards are notable instances of regiments which served under the Commonwealth and became incorporated at the time of the Restoration.

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[1] *State Papers.*

Mali

BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE: J. PETTIE, R.A.

Opp. p. 203.

THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

"The Blues" and "The Independents": Close of Military Events.—The Young Pretender.—Formation of "The Blues".—Arms provided by the City.—Names of Volunteers.—Repairs of the East Walls.—Arms provided by the Ainsty.—The Thursday Market used as the Main Guard.—Stones of the Nunnery of St. Clement used to repair the Walls.—Allowances to the Volunteers.—The King's Birthday.—Defective Arms.—Arms purchased from Birmingham.—Arms from Lord Malton.—A Scout.—"The Independents."—"The Blues" disbanded.—Arms preserved at the Guildhall.—Financial Statement.—Execution of Rebels.—A ghastly Theft.—Discovery of Remains.

NO battle has been fought on English ground since the battle of Sedgemoor in 1685, but, in the reign of George II (1727-1760), the smouldering embers of devastating war seemed to glow, and threatened to break out in destroying activity once more. The year 1745 is made memorable by a rebellion in favour of the "Young Pretender"—Charles Edward Stuart—known in Jacobite song as

"Bonnie Prince Charlie".[1] Preparations were made in York to resist the invader, should he venture so far south. These precautions were inaugurated at an important meeting. This meeting assembled on the 24th of September 1745, in the Guildhall of the city, the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, City Counsel, Aldermen, Sheriff, and twenty-four Chamberlains and Common Councillors being present. Information was laid before the meeting, to the effect that the Lord Archbishop, and the Lord Lieutenants of the several Ridings, proposed that the best method for supporting the King and the Government, and for promoting the immediate defence of the City and the County of York, would be to collect sums of money sufficient for the raising of armed forces in the vicinity. The meeting was further instructed that his Majesty had granted Commissions to the Lord Lieutenants, authorising them to commission any persons necessary for that purpose. It was therefore agreed:

"That this City and Ainsty shall by subscription, separately among themselves, raise a sum of money by voluntary subscription of the inhabitants thereof, for support of such soldiers as will freely and willingly associate to take up arms for the common defence against His Majesty's enemies and opposers, under commissions to be granted by the

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[1] York does not appear to have been associated in any way with the Jacobite rising of 1715.

Earl of Malton, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and that the form following be prepared to be subscribed by the several voluntary subscribers of this City and Ainsty towards the defence of the same:

"'The City of York.—FOR the security of the citizens, gentlemen, and all other inhabitants of the City of York and Ainsty, in the County of the said City, FOR securing of the houses of, and within, this City and Ainsty from being plundered, by those who are now in open rebellion, or by other wicked persons, whether strangers or living within this City or Ainsty: It is proposed, That two or three Companys of one hundred men each, with one Captain, two Lieutenants, and such further officers as shall be necessary for each Company, shall be immediately raised under the power of the Lord Malton, Lord Lieutenant of this city, and such accoutrements and ammunition as shall be proper shall be immediately provided, the expence whereof will be one hundred pounds per week and upwards. We, whose names are hereunto set, severally, hereby promise each to the other, to pay the following sums set against our names, by equal monthly payments, for Four Months to come, in case the said Companys shall be judged proper to be kept up, towards the subsistance of the said Companys, and the First Monthly payment to be made to Mr. John Hildyard before Saturday next.'"

It was also decided that those present should go

in a body to the Castle of York immediately, and acquaint the Archbishop and Lords Lieutenants with this resolution for their approbation. This was accordingly done, and highly approved of.

The course of events may be best followed by a perusal of the proceedings of the subsequent meetings held in connection with this movement in the Guildhall. The account of these proceedings, as here given, is copied from manuscripts in possession of the City Council, and as this was the most important of the later efforts made by the city for its own defence, we give the Records *in extenso.* Some insignificant resolutions are omitted here, and in two cases obscure phraseology has been simplified.

"24 Sept. 1745.

"At the Guildhall aforesaid the same day at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon.

"Ordered, that the several Constables, of the several parishes within this city, give notice to the Parishioners or Churchwardens thereof, to bring in the guns and other arms belonging their several parishes to Guildhall to-morrow, at Ten of the Clock in the Morning, and that the same be cleaned and put in order.

"Ordered, that my Lord Mayor send for the Halfpay Officers in this city, and those who have been in the Army, in order to beg the favour of them to serve in and discipline the companys to be made in this City.

"Ordered, that the Lord Mayor's Officers give

notice, this night, to the several Inhabitants, in their respective parishes, to appear at Guildhall to-morrow morning to subscribe.

"And now, the following persons are appointed to be Collectors of the subscriptions for the several Wards, together with the assistance of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of each parish, in this city; (to wit) Mr. John Telford and Mr. Thomas Wakefield for Micklegate Ward; Mr. Thomas Clifton and Mr. Henry Myers for Walmgate Ward; Mr. Robert Wilton and Mr. Michael Eastburn for Monk Ward; and Mr. Henry Grice and Mr. Daniel Francis Wisher for Bootham Ward.

"Ordered, that a whitesmith in every Ward be ordered to attend here to-morrow to examine the arms brought in by the respective parishes, and clean and put them in order towards the Defence of this city.

"Ordered, that Mr. Hildyard be Treasurer to receive the subscriptions from the Collectors of each Ward or other persons paying the same, and that he repay the same upon the Draught of Three Justices of the Peace for the said city.

"Ordered, that advertisements be printed in order to encourage men to list voluntarily for the Defence of this city during the continuance of Four Months, and that they be in the words following: 'If any young able bodyed man, well affected to his present Majesty King George, will enter his name with my Lord Mayor, as being willing to serve in the York

Companys, to be raised for the service of his present Majesty, and for the security and preservation of this City, he shall, from the time of his being inlisted by the proper Officer of such Company to be commissioned by his Majesty, receive One Shilling per day, and be discharged from such service at the end of Four Months at the farthest from the time of such Inlisting.'"

"25th September 1745.

"At a meeting, at Guildhall aforesaid, the Twenty fifth day of September in the year of our Lord 1745, at Ten of the Clock in the morning.

"And now the several arms mentioned were brought in by the several parishes, amounting in all to 129 Gunns, 114 Bayonetts, and 83 Swords, which are ordered to be cleaned and put in order and the Expence to be paid out of the Subscription Money. And, accordingly, Twelve Gunns and Four Bayonetts were delivered to John Gillison; Eighteen Guns, Seventeen Bayonetts, and nine swords to Francis Boddy; and Nineteen Guns, Eighteen Bayonetts, and Nineteen Swords to Joseph Gorwood, to clean and put in order. The parishioners of the remaining parishes engaging to get their own Arms properly done in due time."

The arms sent in by the several parishes were as follows:—

ARMS WITHIN THE SEVERAL PARISHES OF THE CITY OF YORK.

Returned.	*Micklegate Ward.*	*Gns.*	*Bts.*	*Sds.*
	St. Mary, Bishophill, Senr.	4	4	3
Ret.	St. Mary, Bishophill, Junr.	0	0	2
	All Saints', North Street	4	4	0
	St. Martin-without-Gregory	9	11	8
Ret.	Saint John	5	5	0
	Saint Trinity	5	4	3
	Walmgate Ward.			
	Saint Crux	8	8	0
	All Saints', Pavement	8	8	8
	St. Peter-the-Little	2	2	2
	St. Mary, Castlegate	6	1	1
Ret.	Saint Dennis	4	4	4
Ret.	Saint Margaret	3	3	3
	Saint Lawrence	2	2	2
	St. Michael, Spurriergate	8	8	7
	St. Peter-the-Willows	1	1	0
	Boutham Ward.			
Ret.	St. Wilfrey	3	3	0
Ret.	St. Michel-le-Belfry	12	12	12
Ret.	St. Helen, Stonegate	7	7	7
Ret. 6.	St. Martin, Coney Street	7	7	7
	Saint Giles	1	1	1
	Monk Ward.			
	Saint Saviour	3	3	4
	Christ	12	8	0
	Saint Sampson	5	0	1
Ret.	St. John, Delpike	3	2	2
	St. Trinity, Goodramgate	3	3	3
	St. Helen-on-the-Walls	1	0	0
Ret.	Saint Maurice	2	2	2
	Saint Andrew	0	1	1
	All Saints', Peasholm	1	1	0
	Saint Cuthbert	0	0	0
		129	114	83

"26th Sept. 1745.

"At the Guildhall aforesaid, the Twenty-Sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1745.

"Ordered, That Colonel Pearson be desired to give directions about Belts and Cartouch Boxes, etc., for the soldiers, which he is so kind as to undertake, and who says that swords will be unnecessary, and advises, instead of Two Companys of One Hundred men each, Four Companys of Sixty men each."

"28th September 1745.

"At the Guildhall aforesaid, the Twenty-Eighth day of September 1745, at Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon.

"And now, Mr. William Haughton, Mr. John Haughton, Mr. William Thompson, and Mr. Henry Waite offered voluntarily to take Captain's Commissions in the Companys to be raised in this City, called the York Companys. And it is therefore ordered and agreed That an Express be this afternoon sent to Earl of Malton's for Commissions for them and the Inferior Officers of each Company.

"And now, the Collectors, Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, and principal Inhabitants of this City, went from hence, about in their respective parishes, to gather a Fourth part of the Total Sum, which each Inhabitant subscribed for the Defence of the same (being the first monthly payment), and brought them and paid them in to Mr. Hildyard, the Treasurer.

"Agreed, That my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder and Aldermen view the Barrs, posterns, City Walls, and Ditches, and give proper directions for the repairing them, and safety and defence of this City.

"Ordered, that the Ainsty Constables bring in the arms of their several townships to Guildhall on Tuesday next, in the forenoon, to be cleaned and put in order."

"30th September 1745.

"At the Guildhall aforesaid, the Thirtieth day of September 1745.

"And now, my Lord Mayor produced a letter from the Earl of Malton, with commissions for Captain William Haughton, Captain John Haughton, Captain William Thompson, and Captain Henry Waite; and blank commissions for the lieutenants and inferior officers.

"Agreed, that there shall be four or more companys of Soldiers in this city, each consisting of a captain, lieutenant, and ensign, three sergeants, two corporals, one drum, and sixty private men; that the captains have eight pounds a-piece allowed them for their liverys; and that the private men have hats with cockades, coats, and breeches.

"Agreed, that the sergeants shall have two shillings a day, the corporals and drums eighteenpence a day during the continuance of four months.

"Ordered, that my Lord Mayor provide the men with blue ribbons of the price of eightpence a-piece for cockades for the men.

"It is agreed that the officers and soldiers upon their entering, take the oath of allegiance to the King and subscribe the following association:

"'We the under-written, being well affected subjects to his Majesty King George the Second, in the West Riding of the County of York, do at this time of danger, freely and willingly, associate and bind ourselves and every one of us to the other of us, jointly and severally, to take up Arms for the Common Defence. And do hereby, in the presence of Almighty God, faithfully promise and engage to oppose, fight with, and destroy his Majesty's enemies, where thereunto commanded by his Majesty, the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Malton, Lord Lieutenant of the said Riding, or other Officers set over us by his Majesty, or the said Earl: And to obey all such orders, as we shall, from time to time, receive from his Majesty, the said Earl, or such officers as are or shall be appointed to command us.

"'As witness our Hands this 25th day of September 1745.'

"This Association was now signed by Capt. William Haughton, Capt. John Haughton, Capt. Henry Waite, and Capt. William Thompson, and by John Martin, William Hawksworth, George

Robinson, Crispin Bean, Henry Day, William Baynes, William Hardcastle, George Hawksworth, Archibald Forsyth, John Campbell, and John Housman, their Sergeants; and also by William Hall, a Corporal.

"Ordered, that the Captains to-morrow morning bring in the Names of what persons they fix upon for their Lieutenants and Ensigns.

"Ordered, that Captain William Haughton command the Company of Grenadiers.

"Ordered, that all persons who have entered their Names as willing to serve in the above Companys be summoned to appear at Guildhall, at Nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

"Ordered, that Colours and other necessarys be provided for the companys."

"1st October 1745.

"At the Guildhall aforesaid, the First day of October 1745.

"And now, Captain William Haughton appointed and chose Thomas Bellasyse, Esq., to be his Lieutenant; Captain John Haughton chose John Hutchinson, Esq., to be his Ensign; Captain Henry Waite chose Robert Hotham, Esq., to be his Lieutenant; and Thomas Knipe, jun., Esq., to be his Ensign; and Captain William Thompson appointed Thomas Davison, Esq., to be his Lieutenant; who severally took the Oath of Allegiance to the King and subscribed the Association.

"Which association was also subscribed by, and Oath of Allegiance took by:

John Martin,
William Hawksworth,
Archibald Foresyth,
} Sergeants of the Company of Capt. Wm. Haughton's Grenadiers.

And by

Thomas Martin,
Thomas Mattison,
} Corporals of the said Company.

And by

Daniel Chappel,
John Buttersby,
} Drummers to the said Company.

And by Private Men of the said Company:

Richard Meget.
Thomas Holmes.
Thomas Kettlestrings.
Thomas Denton.
William Brogden.
George Moss.
Jeremiah Newmarsh.
Thomas Whitaker.
Robert Crowther.
Robert Wilson.
John Craven.
William Dawson.
William Grews.
William Briggs.
William Beeforth.
William Bell.
Francis Philips.
Robert Poppleton.

"Which Association was also subscribed and Oath of Allegiance taken by the several Persons undernamed, being soldiers in Captain John Haughton's company (to wit):

William Hardcastle,
John Campbell,
George Hawkins,
} Sergeants.
James Hodgson, Corporal.

Private Men.

Thomas Tessemond.
Jeoffrey Taylor.
William Atkinson.
John Atkinson.
John Green.
Richard Heels.
James Greshon.
William Knowles.

Samuel Parkinson.
William Bewlay.
James Plummer.
John Hutton.
Joseph Smith.
George Dixon.
Thomas Ellitt.
William Edwards.
George Bower.
John Halliday.
William Gilbert.
Joseph Shaw.
Samuel Child.
George Kipling.
Henry Mackrell.
William Bewlay.
Thomas Read.
James Brack.
John Bramley.
Miles Bland.
John Hinderson.
Thomas Bradbury.
John Wyrell.
Matthew Buckle.
William Knowles.
Francis Hudson.
Marmaduke Leadley.
James Howlett.
John Pickering.
Jeremiah Smailes.
James Brack.
William Wyrell.
Abel Barnatt.
Richard White.
John Shaftoe.
Samuel Smailes.
Robert Dodgson.
Matthew Law.
Matthew Scarr.
Mark Stead.
Richard Forster.
Richard Archibald.
John Smailes.
Richard Hunton.
Thomas MacAdam.
William Walker.
Henry Mackrell, jun.
Matthew Johnson.
William Moor.
George Dixon.

"Which Association was also taken, subscribed, and Oath of Allegiance taken by the several persons undernamed, being soldiers in the Company of Captain Henry Waite (to wit):

George Robinson,
Crispin Bean,
John Houseman,
} Sergeants.

John Vary,
Richard Cussans,
} Corporals.

Henry Roe, Drummer.

Private Men.

Robert Leng.
John Dodgson.
John Wray.
Thomas Smith.
Jeremiah Aldridge.
Robert Birkenshaw.
Philip Alder.
Thomas Lawrence.
William Steel.
John Bradley.
John Armstrong.
John Redfern.
Thomas Wake.
Joshua Tempest.
Thomes Scholey.
William Camidge.
Thomas Riley.
Samuel Lee.
Joseph Nutter.
Richard Mitchell.
Bartholomew Weatherell, jun.
James Smith.
William Carter.
William Fleming.
Jeremiah Whitley.
Richard Mathewman.
Francis Priston.
Major Bradley.
James Mitchell.
William Wamhouse.
William Mills.
James Baxton.
Sampson Hexome.
George Metcalf.
Thomas Taylor.
Robert Rudston.
Benjamin Taylor.
Michael Smith.
John Hulme.
William Barker.
Matthew Procter.
Joseph Firth.
Joseph Williamson.
George Alderson.
John Hudson.
William Bowes.
Caleb Pickering.
Richard Waynd.
Paul Rushton.
Edward Beanland.
Peter Johnson.
John Linley.
Richard Gill.
John Weatherell.
Joseph Evison.
James Stephenson.
Thomas Ward.
Richard Avison.
William Burley.
Richard Marsden.
Jonathan Bowman.

"And which Association was likewise subscribed and Oath of Allegiance taken, by the several persons hereunder written, being Soldiers in the Company of Captain William Thompson (to wit):

Henry Day,
William Baynes, } Sergeants.
William Hale,

Private Men.

Thomas Gainforth.
Thomas Caddlethorp.
Thomas Duke.
William Browne.
Thomas Dalamoor.
Thomas Moor.
John Hudson.
Joseph Smith.
William Nelson.
Edward Lunn.
Thomas Leek.
James Burnley.
William Firth.
Henry Stow.
John Ramsden.
Thomas White.
Roger Ward.
William Hoyle.
John Heighsley.
Jechemiah Reader.
Edward Collings.
William Boswell.
William Rand Watson.
Francis Thornam.
John Johnson.
Stephen Mason.
John Pemington.
Robert Speed.
William Gowthorp.
John Tryer.
William Logan.
Thomas Thompson.
Matthew Tuby.
Jonathan Williams.
William Greendell.
John Barker.
Abraham Logwood.
Thomas Smeaton.
Matthew Gowthropp.
Henry Spencer.
Robert Giles.
Joseph Atkinson.
George Taite.
John Brook.
George Stott.
John Corkwood.
John Hickson.
Matthias Fisher.
Thomas Smith.
Andrew Gardhouse.
John Whitton.
Alexander Beard.
Thomas Wyrell.
John Rushforth.

"Ordered that the City Walls at the Red Tower be repaired by building a Wall, and that Mr. Wilton get the same done immediately.

"And now, the justices order that the Rampires be cut down so as to be Ten foot from the Battle-

ments, and that Mr. Wilton and Mr. Wharton are desired to see the same immediately done.

"And now, the arms of the several townships, delivered according to order, are ordered to be cleaned, and put in order immediately, and the Expence to be paid out of the Subscription Money.

ARMS WITHIN THE SEVERAL TOWNSHIPS OF THE AINSTY.

	Gns.	*Bts.*		*Gns.*	*Bts.*	*Sds.*
Ret.	4	2	Appleton	7	2	0
Ret.			Acomb	6	2	0
Ret.			Askham, Richard	4	5	0
Ret.			Askham, Bryan	9	9	0
			Acaster Selby	0	0	0
			Acaster Malbis	4	5	0
			Bishopthorpe	3	0	0
			Bickerton	6	3	0
Ret.	4		Bilton	6	5	0
Ret.	5		Bolton	7	6	0
			Bilborough	4	6	0
			Colton	4	4	0
			Catterton	1	1	0
Ret.			Copmanthorp	0	0	0
Ret.			Dringhouses	4	4	0
			Holgate	2	2	0
Ret.	4		Heaulaugh	7	7	0
Ret.	3	2	Hutton and Angram	7	4	0
Ret.			Hessay	4	4	0
			Knapton	2	5	0
			Marston	0	0	0
Ret.			Middlethorpe	3	1	0
Ret.	5		Monkton	7	6	0
Ret.	1	1	Oxton	4	4	0
			Upper Poppleton	0	0	0
			Nether Poppleton	0	0	0

	Gns.	*Bts.*		*Gns.*	*Bts.*	*Sds.*
Ret.	6	3	Rufforth . . .	8	5	0
			Steeton . . .	0	0	0
			Thorp Arch . . .	6	3	0
			Tadcaster . . .	0	0	0
			Wighill . . .	0	0	0
			Wilstrop . . .	3	3	0
			Walton . . .	7	5	0
Ret.	2	2	Tockwith . . .	8	0	0

ARMS BELONGING TO PRIVATE PERSONS.

	Mr. Henry Scott . .	1	1	1
Ret.	Mr. Wood Boynton, from Copmanthorp . .	6	6	0

"And now, the Constables of the several Townships in the Ainsty brought in the Moneys which they and the principal Inhabitants had collected within their respective Constablerys for the Defence of the City and Ainsty, and paid them in to Mr. Hildyard the Treasurer."

"2nd October 1745.

"At the Guildhall aforesaid, the Second day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1745.

"Ordered, that each Captain shall have Eighteen pounds and Eighteen Shillings a piece, payable to them by Mr. Hildyard, the Treasurer, for clothing for themselves and their Lieutenants and Ensigns, (to wit) Eight Guineas a piece for themselves, as Captains, Six Guineas a piece for their Lieutenants, and four Guineas a piece for their Ensigns, out of the Subscription Money.

"Ordered, that Mr. Robert Sowerby, the Schoolmaster of Thursday Market Cross,[1] be sent to, and desired to let a main Guard be kept at the said Cross, for two or three months, or longer if occasion require, and the City will for that time provide Merchant Taylors Hall for a School, for him, and pay for the same, and re-emburse him all Expences he may be put to in removing his Necessarys to and fro, or in any other manner that he may be chargeable concerning the same, Who being accordingly sent to, appeared and consented to the same.

"And now, Capt. Wm. Haughton chose and desired that Charles Burdett might have a Commission to be his Ensign, and Capt. John Haughton desired That John Hutchinson, Ensign, might be removed to be his Lieutenant, and that John Theakston, Junr., might be his Ensign, in Mr. Hutchinson's stead; and Capt. Thompson desired that Richard Dawson, Jun., Esq., might be his Ensign, Who being approved of, were accordingly admitted, and appearing, took the oath of Allegiance, and subscribed the Association."

"3rd October 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the City of York, the 3rd day of October 1745.

"And now, Robert Sowerby, who teaches a

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[1] This spacious detached building stood in Sampson Square, and was removed 1815. It consisted of an open lower hall and a well-lighted upper room.

school, in a room above Thursday Market Cross, was sent for, and it was proposed that as the Guard, in times of Danger, had been usually kept there, and that School Room be provided for him, during the Troubles, at Merchant Taylors' Hall, and his things removed thither, the expences to be paid out of the subscription money, to which the said Robert Sowerby, and Mr. Etherington, Master of the Taylors Company, also consented.

"And now, it was agreed, with John Simpson, that he shall have two Guyneas, for the loan of deals, and setting up a Guard Bed on one side, and a Bench on the other of the chamber over Thursday Market Cross.

"Ordered, that Thomas Alanson and Martin Croft make each of them a stone of Lead into Musquet Bullets."

"4th October 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the City of York, the fourth day of October 1745.

"And now, Mr. Telford on behalf of Mr. Perrott agreed that this Corporation shall have stone of the old Building[1] of Clementhorpe for the repairing of the City Walls, paying for the same, the part proposed to be taken down, being in length Eighty-five feet, in height nine feet."

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[1] The old building here referred to was the Nunnery of St. Clement, from which Clementhorpe takes its name. It was erected by Archbishop Thurstan about 1130. Every vestige of this building has long since disappeared.

"7th October 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the City of York, the seventh day of October 1745.

"And now, Mr. Sheriff Spooner reported that he had gott Cloth to make Soldiers Coats. It is therefore ordered and agreed, That the several Taylors hereafter named make the number of Coats each for the Soldiers in the respective Companys hereafter expressed.

For Capt. H. Waite.		*Capt. John Haughton.*	
M. Jn. Hetherington	18	John Cole	18
Archibald Cryton	18	Chr. Metcalf	18
William Hall	9	Jeremiah Smith	18
Mat. Dawson Peter	9	Charles Pearson	6
Joseph Whiteoak	6		—
	—		60
	60		

For Capt. Wm. Haughton.		*Capt. Wm. Thompson.*	
Edwd. Addison	12	Robert Drake	18
Mat. Milchelson	10	George Ellis	9
John Greening	6	John Dunning	18
Thomas Fox	8	Anthony Duning	7
Jeremiah Hall	8	George Faikson	8
William Hayes	16		—
	—		60
	60		

"23rd October 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the City of York, the 23rd day of October 1745.

"And now, the Captains of the four Companys produced their accounts relating to each Company, which were examined by those present.

"And now, Mr. John Hildyard, the treasurer's accounts were audited, whereby it appears That the first monthly payment of the subscription in the city was £613 13*s.* 2½*d.*, and in the Aynsty, £56 18*s.* 4*d.*, amounting together to six hundred and seventy pounds, eleven shillings, and sixpence halfpenny, and that the disbursements amount to four hundred and forty-eight pounds and three shillings, so that the balance of the first monthly payment remaining in Mr. Hildyard's hand, is the sum of two hundred and twenty-two pounds, eight shillings, and sixpence halfpenny, to be carried to the next amount."

"25th October 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the said City, the day and year above said.

"It is ordered, that if any soldier shall from henceforth demand, or receive, of any person or persons whomsoever, coming in, or going out, at any Barr of this City, any money, liquor, or other thing for his own use, such soldier so demanding or receiving the same, and also any soldier partaking thereof, knowing the premisses, shall forfeit a week's pay, and further be punished with the utmost severity.

"Ordered, that a Corporal be added to such companys as have not four, whereby each company besides captain, lieutenant, and ensign, will consist of three serjeants at two shillings p. day each, four corporals at eighteen pence a day each,

one drummer at eighteen pence a day, and fifty-three private men at twelve pence a day each, so that the weekly subsistence of each company will amount to three and twenty pounds, five shillings, and sixpence:

		£	s.	d.
3 Sarjeants p. day	. .	0	6	0
4 Corporals p. day	. .	0	6	0
1 Drummer p. day	. .	0	1	6
53 Private men p. day	.	2	13	0
61		3	6	6
			7	days.
		21	0	0
		2	2	0
		0	3	6
		£23	5	6
			p.	week.

"Ordered, that on Wednesday the 30th instant being his present Majesty's Birthday, the soldiers shall be drawn up without Micklegate Barr, and march through Micklegate, Low Ousegate, Conney Street, Stonegate, Petergate, Colliergate, Pavement, and Thursday market, to St. Hellen's Church, and from thence into Pavement again, and there fire, and drink His Majesty's health, whereby the citizens who have subscribed for their support will have the satisfaction of seeing them, and how they are trained and perform their exercise.

"Ordered, that four casks of gunpowder, of 50 pounds each, at thirteen pence half-penny p. pound,

be got of Mr. Amor Oxley, and that one of those 4 casks be delivered to each of the city companys.

"And now, the several parishes within the city brought in their second monthly subscription for the defence of the city, and severally paid the same to Mr. Hildyard, the treasurer."

"14th November 1745.

"At the Guildhall of, and in the City of York, the fourteenth day of November 1745.

"And now, Captain Haughton, and others of the officers, reported that they, with Mr. Robert Watkins of Birmingham, and some gun-smiths in town, had proved and examined the arms which the company have, and that very few of them are fit for service, or capable of being made fit. And the said Mr. Watkins hath proposed to deliver guns and bayonets here, free of all charges, at the rate of three and twenty shillings and sixpence a-piece.

"Ordered and agreed, that the said Mr. Watkins shall on or before next Saturday send to this city, for the use of the four companys, one hundred muskets and bayonets, such as that by him shewn here at the rate of three and twenty shillings and sixpence a-piece, and deliver them, at this place, free from all other charges, and that such shall be returned, and not paid for, as shall not stand the proof of an ounce of powder and a ball."

"15th November 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the City of York, the fifteenth day of November 1745.

"And now my Lord Mayor produced a Letter from my Lord Malton, wherein his Lordship says he has sixty fire locks with Bayonets, his own property, which he bought and paid for at Birmingham, which prove too short to range with the Arms, the West Riding Company are furnished with, and if my Lord Mayor will send a Cart, to fetch them, they are at my Lord Mayor's Service for the use of the City: he only desires the City will send him, by the cart, twelve blunderbusses in exchange.

"Ordered, to which Mr. Robert Watkins agrees, That my Lord Mayor write a letter of thanks to his Lordship; and that we shall send a cart to-morrow morning for the said Arms; That we have no blunderbusses of our own, which are in tollerable order, but we have engaged the said Mr. Watkin to send his Lordship twelve blunderbusses, by a special messenger, carriage paid, to be with his Lordship this day fortnight."

"5th Dec. 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the City of York, the fifth day of December 1745.

"And now, Thomas Walker Tinner who was servant to Mr. Meek of the Royal Hunters gave notice, That he intends to go as near as he dares to the Rebel Army to gain Intelligence, which he will

send, from time to time, to my Lord Mayor, and desired a Pass for his more quiet passing, and being free from Interruption, as he goes. It is therefore agreed, that he have a pass or Certificate of his being a Freeman of this City, going about his lawful Business, and the like to Mr. Samuel Thornton and Mr. John Metcalf."

"30th Dec. 1745.

"At my Lord Mayor's House, of and in the said City, the Thirtieth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1745.

"And now, Mr. John Hildyard, the Treasurer's Accounts were brought in, and audited, by the Justices, whereby it appears, That the second monthly payment of the Subscription in the City is £627 7*s.* 8*d.*, and in the Ainsty £58 3*s.* 1*d.*, And the third monthly payment in the City is £592 11*s.*. 5½*d.*, and in the Ainsty £51 2*s.* 7½*d.*, amounting to one thousand three hundred and twenty-nine pounds, four shillings and tenpence, and the disbursements are one thousand two hundred and forty pounds, three shillings and sevenpence halfpenny."[1]

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[1] There is a list of the "*Subscribers in the City and Ainsty of York for suppressing the 'horrid and unnatural Rebellion', in* 1745," fols. 82 to 95, in "*Genealogical Catalogues, or Lists illustrative of the Genealogy of the County of York*, compiled or transcribed by William Paver", B.M., Ad. MS. 29,694. This list includes sums as low as one shilling and threepence, and the

In addition to "The Blues", for by this name these four companies were popularly known, the gentlemen and other principal inhabitants of the city formed themselves into a military body for its defence. They were clothed in uniform, accoutred at their own expense, and assumed the name of "The Independents".

The strength of this force was as follows:

Bootham Ward.—Col. Pierson; Lieut. Bains; Ensign Bower; 45 Private; 1 Sergeant; and 1 Drum.

Micklegate Ward.—Captain Adams; Lieut. Stanforth; Ensign Brook; 48 Private; 1 Sergeant; 1 Corporal; and 1 Drum.

Monk Ward.—Captain Patrick Agnew; Lieut. John Wilmer; Ensign John Hildyard; 46 Private; 1 Sergeant; 1 Corporal; 1 Drum.

Walmgate Ward.—Captain Walkinshaw; Lieut. Bewlay; Ensign Hornsey; 46 Private; 1 Sergeant; 1 Corporal: 1 Drum. Total 208.

These gentlemen allowed their sergeants 7*s.* per week, corporals 5*s.*, and the drummers 3*s.* 6*d.*, with uniforms.

This respectable force remained under arms about ten months.

Happily, the rebellion which caused the mobilisation of these forces spent itself in Scotland, and "The Blues" were, with needful caution, gradually

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reproduction of these details would not add to the interest or utility of this work. The frontispiece bears the couplet:

> "'Twas not unnat'ral thou shouldst claim a throne,
> By long descent, by Nature's laws, thy own!"

disbanded, after bearing arms four months. We will permit the city records to give the particulars.

"23rd January 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the City of York, the twenty-third day of January 1745.

"And now, it was proposed that as the Rebels are now far distant from this City, the Town quiet; no appearance of Tumults or Disorders; and therefore no occasion to keep Guards in Thursday Market, and at the Bars by the soldiers, who are now well trained and disciplined; and the subscription money not being sufficient to subsist the Companys long; that the Guards need not be longer kept, but the soldiers have liberty to go to work, except for one day in each week, which shall be a field-day for keeping the soldiers in their Exercise, for which day only they shall be allowed that day's pay, so that they may be ready to enter service, and full pay if occasion should happen, and whereby the subscription money will, by that means, hold out some time, and this City not be left defenceless in the time of imminent danger; as the soldiers may then be immediately called out, enter into full pay, and keep Guard as now, and these presents are further induced to this proposal by reason there is already in Town about Two Hundred independent gentlemen and citizens in arms, and about one hundred and fifty soldiers of General Oglethorp's Regiment of Foot, who are sufficient to deter any rising, or quiet any riot,

or tumult may happen in this City, which said proposal was unanimously agreed to, and was afterwards communicated to the Captains and officers, who were desired to acquaint their soldiers therewith, and report their resolution here on Monday or Tuesday next."

"27th January 1745.

"At the Guildhall of and in the said City of York, the Twenty-seventh day of January 1745.

"And now, the soldiers were drawn up in the Guildhall, when the Recorder made a speech to them, and thanked them for their good services, and acquainted them that the subscription money would not continue them much longer in full pay, and therefore referred it to their consideration whether they would accept of one day's pay in each week, and that day meet for about an hour to go through their exercise, aud be ready to enter into full pay, if further occasion should require. And further, that for their assembling on any occasion, in the meantime on beat of drum, they should likewise be allowed a day's pay; and if there should be no further occasion for them, when peace was restored in this kingdom, such soldiers as accepted the proposal and continued in service should have the remainder of the subscription money divided amongst them. But the soldiers unanimously refused to accept

the proposal, and thereupon delivered up their arms.

"Ordered, that a convenient place be made in the Comon Hall, for keeping the ninety-nine new guns[1] and bayonets lately purchased, and the sixty guns and bayonets sent by Lord Malton in exchange for the twelve blunderbusses, and also the belts and cartouch boxes to be there kept, in order, for the defence of the city, when wanted, and the guns and bayonets sent in by the parishes and townships in the City and Ainsty, shall be returned to them again."

"3rd Nov. 1746.

"At the Guildhall of and in the said City, the third day of November 1746.

"And now, Mr. John Hildyard, the treasurer's accounts were audited, whereby it appears that the fourth and last monthly payment of the subscription money in the City amounted to the sum of £577 19*s.* 7¼*d.*, and in the Ainsty to £43 12*s.* 5½*d.*, and that he hath since received the further sum of £33 12*s.* 10½*d.*

"Disbursements amount to the sum of six hundred and seventy-five pounds Eight shillings and sixpence farthing."

The entire statement is as follows:—

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[1] These arms are still to be seen in the Guildhall, and have been lately cleaned and rearranged by order of the Corporation

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
City Subscriptions.						
1st Payment . .	613	13	2½			
2nd Payment . .	627	7	8			
3rd Payment . .	592	11	5½			
4th Payment . .	577	19	7¼			
				£2,411	11	11¼
Aynsty Subscriptions.						
1st Payment . .	56	18	4			
2nd Payment . .	58	3	1			
3rd Payment . .	51	2	7½			
4th Payment . .	43	12	5½			
				£209	16	6
Arrears paid since.						
Mrs. Clarke . .	5	0	0			
Mrs. Lockwood .	5	5	0			
Belfreys Parish .	0	15	4½			
Mrs. Lumley .	1	1	0			
Mr. Watkinson .	1	11	6			
Mr. Wood . .	10	0	0			
Mr. Recorder . .	10	0	0			
				£33	12	10½
Total Subscriptions .				£2,655	1	3¾
	Paid.					
Disbursements .	2,345	1	3¾			
Rests in the Trears. hands to Ballance .	310	0	0			
				£2,655.	1	3¾

"4th Dec. 1746.

"At the Guildhall of and in the said City, the fourth day of December 1746.

"It appears that, with the Money received since the last meeting, the whole sum now in the Treasurer's hands is £311 19*s.* 7½*d.*

"Ordered, that an Advertisement be published in each of all the York News-papers, of Tuesday next, to give notice to all the persons in each Division, or Parish, in the City and Ainsty, who delivered in the Bills of Subscriptions, that they are desired to apply to the Lord Mayor at his office in the Guildhall afore-said, betwixt the hours of eleven and two, before the 17th instant, and they will there receive a draught upon Mr. Hildyard, the Treasurer of this subscription, for a dividend of 2*s.* 4¾*d.* p. pound proportionate to the subscriptions in their Parish or Division, which were paid in full, and the sums so drawn for will be paid on demand by the said Treasurer any day except Sundays and Wednesdays, for three weeks to come, betwixt the hours of ten and twelve in the morning.

"A Dividend of 2*s.* 4¾*d.* in the pound amounts to £306 4*s.* 9*d.*; Bills omitted to be brought in, Expences incurred since the last meeting, are computed likely to amount to £5 14*s.* 10½*d.*

"Ordered, that all Subscribers are to apply for their separate Dividends to the persons who receive the Total sum of the Treasurer for each parish or Division, whose names they may be acquainted with by inquiring at the Lord Mayor's office aforesaid."

Though York, at this time, witnessed no battle, the Tyburn, without Micklegate Bar, became the scene of two most sanguinary events. After the rout of the Jacobite rebels at Culloden (April 16th, 1746), his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland

visited York, on his way to London (July 23rd), and left in the city a number of prisoners. On Saturday, November 1st, ten of these men were hung, drawn, and quartered, and on the following Saturday eleven others suffered death in a similar manner. Their names, which, in most instances, indicate their Scotch origin, were Hamilton, Clevering, Spark, Gordon, McDonald, Mayne, Mason, Dempsey, Frazer, Conolly, Row, Hunter, Endsworth, McClean, McGreggor, McKensie, Parker, McGennis, Kennedy, Thompson, and Brady. An Irishman, Crosby, of Colonel Townley's regiment, was set at liberty.

Captain Hamilton's head was sent to Carlisle. The heads of Conolly and Mayne were displayed over Micklegate Bar, and eight years after were stolen, a reward being offered, in the following terms, for the detection of the offender:

"York, Guildhall, Feb. 4, 1754.

"Whereas on Monday night, or Tuesday morning last, the heads of two of the rebels, which were fixed upon polls on the top of Micklegate Bar, in this City, were wilfully and designedly taken down, and carried away: If any person or persons (except the person or persons who actually took down and carried away the same) will discover the person or persons who were guilty of so unlawful and audacious an action, or anywise hiding or assisting therein, he, she, or they shall, upon conviction of the offenders, receive a reward of Ten Pounds from the Mayor and Commonality of the City of York.

"By order of the said Mayor and said Commonality,
"JOHN RAPER,
"Common Clerk of the said City and County of the same."[1]

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[1] *Newcastle Papers*, B.M., vol. xlix, fol. 164, where there are also affidavits by would-be informers, one of them a soldier.

The culprits were discovered to be William Arundel, a tailor, and an accomplice. Arundel was fined, and imprisoned for two years, for his offence, in the prison which stood upon the old Ouse Bridge.[1] After the bodies of the rebels had been subjected to the disgusting indignities[2] of that time, they were taken to the Castle and there interred. More than a century after their remains were unearthed. The following paragraph appeared

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[1] Until the erection of the present structure there stood upon Ouse Bridge a chapel, admired as an excellent specimen of Early English work. Leland's *Collectanea* states that this chapel owed its erection to a fight which occurred between the retainers of John Comyn, a Scotch nobleman, and the citizens in 1268, resulting in the death of several of the former combatants. The citizens were made to pay to Comyn the sum of £300, to erect a chapel on the place where the slaughter took place, and to find two priests to celebrate Mass there for the souls of the slain for ever. Also *Analecta Eboracensia*, B.M., *Eg. MS.* 2578 (said by Drake, in an autograph note, to be written by Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt., son-in-law of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax), fol. 64*b*. Other accounts, however, are in favour of a less tragic legend. According to these authorities, the chapel was built at the same time as the first stone bridge (1235-1268), in order to commemorate the public entrance into the city of Archbishop William Fitzherbert in 1154, on which occasion he miraculously saved from drowning a number of persons who were precipitated into the river through the giving way of the wooden bridge at the time the vast and rejoicing crowd, which welcomed him, was crossing. At the Reformation the chapel was converted into an exchange for the city merchants. Upon the decay of trade it was divided into a Council Chamber, a Record Office, and a prison for freemen of the city. This building was taken down in 1810, but several interesting etchings of its details are preserved in Cave's *Antiquities*, and Halfpenny's *Fragmenta Vetusta*.

[2] Knipe, *Criminal Chronology of York Castle.*

in the newspapers about a quarter of a century ago:

"*Discovery of the Remains of Scottish Rebels.*—Within the last few days a curious discovery has been made behind York Castle. A number of excavators were employed there to dig a drain, when they turned up the remains of about twenty human bodies; but the skulls of three or four of them were wanting, and the bones appeared mixed together in such an unusual manner as to excite the curiosity of all who saw the positions in which they were found. The conclusion formed respecting them is that they were the remains of twenty-one Scottish rebels who were executed near York, ten of them on Saturday, the 1st, and the remainder on Saturday, the 8th of November 1746, when they were hanged, drawn, and quartered."

SIGNATURE OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

CHAPTER II.

Origin of "The Duke of York's March".—A Militia Riot.—The Press-gang.

WITHOUT trespassing beyond the limits of our subject, we may pass from these grave matters to speak of a circumstance which conjures up visions of all that is bright and gay.

"In the year 1756, John Camidge, chief musician to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of York, and organist of the Minster, composed, amongst other popular tunes, for the City Waits, a Grand March on the occasion of the reception in York of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George the Fourth. The city band played this tune again and again, and it became very popular. It was especially played in the Polonaise, an old-fashioned dance, when the Prince had the Lady Mayoress for his partner. Some time after, his Royal Highness sent a letter to the Lord Mayor, saying that during the whole of his subsequent journey he had been constantly whistling the tune which he had heard played at York. The Lord Mayor acquainted the composer of this, who gladly sent a copy of his march to the Prince, who, through the Duke of York, gave it to the Guards band,

who have relieved guard to its strain since. This tune is the well-known "Duke of York's March".[1]

The year 1757 witnessed a serious militia riot. It may be well to sketch rapidly the growth of the Militia system. In Norman times there was "a system, something like that of the Saxons, called *Posse comitatus*. Everyone was bound to risk his life in defence of his country. The law was binding on all males between 15 and 60 years of age. The feudal troops served anywhere at the King's pleasure; the others only in their own land, in case of revolt or invasion. The troops for home defence were levied by the sheriffs. The men liable to be called out by the sheriffs were constituted an armed force in the reign of Henry II (1154-1189), and by an Act of this King, confirmed and enlarged by Edward I (1272-1307), each man was compelled, according to his estate, to provide himself with arms. It remained the sheriff's province to organise and be responsible for the efficiency of the county militia, until that duty was handed over to the Lord-Lieutenants in the reign of Mary (1553-1558)."[2]

New militia regulations were enacted in 1757. Several of these "being esteemed, by the lower classes of the people, an act of oppression, in compelling them to contribute, equally with the rich, many yeoman, farmers, and others of the East and

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[1] *Yorkshire in Olden Times*, edited by W. Andrews, F.R.H.S.

[2] *Volunteer Militiaman and Regular Soldier*, page 18.

North Ridings, became riotous, and endeavoured by force to oppose it being carried into execution. In the North Riding the riot was most furious, for on the 15th of September, being the day appointed for the deputy lieutenants of the militia for the weapontake of Bulmer to meet at the Cockpit House, without Bootham Bar, where the chief constables had to go to attend to give in their lists of persons qualified to serve in the militia, great numbers of the farmers and county people, consisting of upwards of thirty parishes, assembled at York in order to seize on such constables as were carrying in the lists, some of which they got, but not meeting with the whole, they proceeded in a large body, armed with clubs and other unlawful weapons, some on horseback and others on foot, through Monk Bar to Cockpit House,[1] without Bootham Bar. Not meeting with the deputy lieutenants, as was expected, they forced the lists from such constables as were in attendance, and after drinking all the liquors in the house, they gutted and pulled it down. They then proceeded to Mr. Bowes' house, on the opposite side of the street and within the City Liberty, which they also gutted and destroyed, and they threatened to do the same to the houses of several other persons, whom they looked upon as promoters or favourers of the Militia Act."[2] The rioters were at last dispersed by the Lord Mayor and High

[1] Afterwards utilised as a dwelling. Removed.

[2] Ward's edition of Drake, 1785, vol. i, p. 356.

Sheriff of the county by means of "persuasive arguments and specious promises". One rioter was condemned to death, but this severe sentence was commuted to transportation.

Fig. 32.—THE PRESS-GANG.

It will not be out of place to introduce here something concerning the press-gang, though this institution was associated more particularly with the sister service—the Navy. The end of the last century saw the Navy heavily drained by foreign

service, and yet events seemed to demand that the strength of this force should not only be maintained, but augmented. Then it was that the "press-gang"—not an entirely new feature in the history of warfare—was permitted, if not commissioned, by the Government to coerce men to accept martial service in the field or on the deep. The appearance of a press-gang in York, in January 1777, was the cause of very tumultuous feelings on the part of the populace. On either side of the Ouse Bridge there is a wharf or staith; that on the east bank being known as the King's Staith, that on the west as the Queen's Staith. The King's Staith, then a busy centre, was selected by the press-gang as the scene of their heartless and ruffianly exploits. So enraged were the citizens that the Lord Mayor received a letter which contained a threat that he should die by violence, and that the Minster, the Mansion House, and even the city should be destroyed by fire if he did not secure the withdrawal of the obnoxious visitors within three days.

CHAPTER III.

Volunteer Troops: Corps raised in 1782.—Corps raised in 1793.—Lieut.-Col. Norcliffe.—Dedication of the Colours.—"Drumming out" a Volunteer.—The Grenadier Company.—Presentations.—The Corps Disbanded.—A Notable House.

TOWARDS the close of last century England was engaged in war with France and Spain, the quarrel centralising itself in an attempt, on the part of the allied Powers, to wrest from Britain the fortress of Gibraltar. At this time, 1782, a letter, laying down a plan, comprising nineteen sections, for raising additional forces for the defence of the nation, was addressed by Lord Shelburne, one of his Majesty's Chief Secretaries of State, to the principal towns in the kingdom. Of course, the plan was submitted to the Corporation and citizens of York, who, with characteristic loyalty, responded very heartily, and proceeded to mobilise in a similar method to that employed in 1745. The City Records touching upon this matter are unfortunately only of the most fragmentary character.

For more than twenty years, from 1793 to 1815, excepting a few months' interval, which succeeded the Treaty of Amiens (March 1802), we were in-

Not for loan

COLONEL NORCLIFFE DALTON.

Opp. p. 243.

volved in war by the French Revolution and the ambition of Napoleon, who, immediately upon his being declared Emperor, devoted his attention to a scheme which had long been cherished by the French—the invasion of England.

This troubled period appealed strongly to the patriotism of Englishmen, and successful endeavours were made throughout the country to organise additional forces for the defence of our shores. The City Records indicate that great activity was displayed in York in the formation of a local corps. Occasionally, it is possible in the city and its neighbourhood to meet with a stray specimen of the arms supplied to these troops—a sword, for instance, preserved by some respectable family as the weapon which a grandfather carried with the resolve to do his duty, if Frenchmen ever dared to set an unfriendly foot upon English soil. The officer asked to take command of this Volunteer Corps[1] was Captain Thomas Norcliffe Dalton,[2] formerly of the Eleventh Dragoons. At first, Captain Dalton declined the honour, but offered to serve as a private in the Corps. His letter to the Recorder has been preserved, and is as follows:

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[1] The Lord Mayor at this time was John Hay, woollen-draper (Sheriff, 1788). Elected Lord Mayor, 5th June 1793, in the place of William Liddalls, Lord Mayor, who died in office. He died 30th July 1806.

[2] Norcliffe only by Royal licence in 1807.

"Tanfield Hall,
"July 27th, 1794.

"Dear Withers,

"I am really at a loss to know what answer to make to your letter, which I received this morning, containing the very handsome offer of the command of the York Volunteers. In my former letter I mentioned how very improper a person I am for it, at the distance I am from York—to which place we do not think of moving 'till November, and as we have no prospect at present of leaving this place, we shall return to it in the Spring. Being therefore so little at York, it must strike the most unmilitary man, that I can be of no use, and it would be a very awkward circumstance to me, that I should be absent, if on any occasion the Volunteers should be called out. I am induced to mention these circumstances to you in the hopes of convincing you how improper I am for the post the Gentlemen wish to honour me with, and which I beg you will inform them I am most truly sensible of. I mentioned at the same time to you, and now repeat it, that if, during the time I am at York, there should be any occasion for my services, I should be happy to enroll myself as a Private in the Corps.

"I am in good hopes I have now said enough to convince you of the impropriety of choosing me Commandant. Nevertheless, should that not be the case, I am not made of such impenetrable stuff as to withstand the united request of so many respectable Gentlemen, and *desire you will do with me as you please in this affair;* but I cannot conclude without again declaring to you that I shall be a very useless man, and that I think there are a great number infinitely more proper for the purpose. Yourself, for example. Adieu! my dear *Captain Plausible.* Mrs. D[alton] desires to join her best good wishes to Mrs. Withers with those of your very faithful and sincere friend,

"William Withers, Esqre.,[1] "T. N. DALTON.
"Castle Gate, York."

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[1] William Withers was Recorder of Ripon, 5th September 1776. Recorder of York, 13th January 1793. Died, 28th April 1802.

Ultimately, Captain Dalton accepted the proffered post, and his commission as Major-Commandant of the York Corps of Volunteers is dated 31st July 1794, and is signed by his Majesty George the Third, and countersigned by the Duke of Portland. His commission as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant is dated 27th February 1795, signed and countersigned as in the former case.

The colours were presented to the Corps by the Lady Mayoress, Mrs. John Hay, and the ladies of York, at Knavesmire, on the 22nd of December 1794, and were dedicated by the Rev. Dudley Rockett, M.A., Chaplain to the Corps, who was for many years incumbent of St. John's Church, Ouse Bridge End. The address and prayer at this dedication service were afterwards published, by request of the Corps, in a ten-paged pamphlet:

THE ADDRESS.

"Gentlemen Volunteers;

"In discharge of that duty which your goodness has been pleased to confer on me, I address you with a few words, previous to that solemn Dedication of our Standards which we are now about to celebrate.

"But to Men who have voluntarily engaged in the defence of their King, their Country, its Constitution, Laws, internal Peace, Freedom, and Order, what remains for me to enforce? Your virtues anticipate precept, and leave little more for me to do than to ask the Blessing of the Almighty upon your public-spirited and Christian undertaking.

"How long it may please Providence to permit the present Conflagration of France to scorch the Nations of the earth, it is impossible for human wisdom to foresee; but of this we are certain, that our resistance of her principles is as necessary to our de-

liverance from the threatened ruin, as our resistance of her arms. Without entering into a detail of her sanguinary horrors, one brief question will afford a sufficient antidote to all the poison that her vain Philosophy can infuse: Have we, then, an established Tyranny, either in Church or State, to justify the subversion of the British Constitution; or the extinction of the Protestant Profession of the Christian Faith?

"When the Constitution of this Kingdom was originally framed, the mode of our national defence was precisely that which is now (as in your case) again adopted and pursued. The Monarch and the People were in one common interest; the Liberty of the Country was the leading principle; and the Crown in a manner secured it to the Public, by placing the sword in the hands of those by whom it was to be enjoyed. And shall we endure to hear that a less security is now afforded to the People by our present Sovereign; or that their Liberty is endangered by a Government that calls upon themselves for its protection?

"To afford that Protection, then, and to maintain the Laws and Religion of your Country from Foreign Force, and Internal Commotion, Gentlemen, is that duty, for the performance of which his Majesty now commits the sword to your hands. You have engaged to him that you will defend them, and this day you receive your Standards, as a perpetual symbol of that awful obligation into which you have entered. Your loyalty to his own sacred person is inseparably included in your attachment to the Constitution, it is specifically included in your engagement: and were it otherwise, it is a duty I should feel it superfluous to recommend, for it is also a disposition with which every heart among you affectionately glows. The King confides—your Fellow-Citizens confide—in your constancy and spirit; and stand assured, that you will never abandon these Standards, but with your lives. And it cannot be but an infinite satisfaction to your minds, to reflect, that a reliance on your virtue results in the peace and tranquillity of the softer sex, who, in this confidence, have presented us with our standards, and whom, it will ever be the happiness, as well as the duty of manly minds, to guard and protect.

"The advantages resulting to commerce, and consequently to the resources of your country, and a thousand collateral benefits accruing to the State from that security which your exertions afford, though highly worthy of gratitude, do not so properly

belong to my consideration, as it does, in the discharge of my own function, to recommend to you—and in *an especial manner*, at this time, to recommend to you—the cultivation of a Religious spirit. There is a contagion in doctrines, against which we should stand for ever on our guard; and the Atheistical Disciples of France are laboriously endeavouring to disseminate their horrible impieties in Britain. Let *your* light, therefore, shine before men, and the practice of the Christian Religion, with all its train of gentle duties, will not only secure you peace at the last, but render you, by the force of example, a means of obviating those tenets which in their *native soil* have brought forth whatever can be called a calamity to human nature. They did not there proceed to outrage every *civil* obligation, till they had first proclaimed their emancipation from every *religious* obligation: it was not till Glory was denied to God, that Good-will was withdrawn from Men.

"To God let us, therefore, with redoubled zeal, ascribe all glory: for thus it is, that as you have undertaken the defence of our Religion, you will *most effectually* defend it; and thus, by conciliating the favour of God to yourselves and to your country, you will best consult its prosperity and peace. To Him, therefore, in this confidence, let us now humbly address our Prayer of Dedication."

The following vivacious letter from William Burgh,[1] D.C.L., to Colonel Dalton, giving an account of the "drumming out" of a member of the Volunteer Corps, and stating that the same kind of melancholy ceremony had taken place at York Barracks the same morning, will show that "volunteering" in 1796 was not looked upon as child's-play.

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[1] There is a monument to his memory in the north aisle of the York Minster. He published "A Scriptural Confutation of the Arguments against the one Godhead of the Father, etc." See *Memoirs of the York Press*, pp. 271-74.

"York, July 28th, 1796.

"My dear Dalton,

"I know you wish to hear, and therefore I will not keep my accustomed silence, but tell you that the whole transaction of yesterday went off as well as it was possible to do. In order to avoid the necessity of repeated readings in Blake Street, the Sentence was previously read to the Corps in a ring on Knaresmire, and every Man's Curiosity thus satisfied against the time when the Business was to be transacted in form. At about seven o'clock the Corps drew up according to Appointment in Blake Street, where, before an immense Concourse of People, the sentence and Confirmation were read and Orders given to the Drums and Fifes, who accordingly with a File of Men proceeded to B.'s house, where the residue of his Condemnation was executed before many hundreds of People, who all expressed the greatest Satisfaction at the Justice and Propriety of his Disgrace. My Lord Mayor[1] with a very proper Spirit sanctioned the Business by inviting all the Officers to drink a Glass of Wine with him at the Mansion House, where, among many more cheerful toasts, "May disgrace attend every refractory Volunteer" was given. When the File of Men were ordered out to go with the Drums and fetch the Arms, etc., etc., of this unfortunate Fellow, nearly the whole of the Light Company to which he belonged voluntarily turned out and offered their Service. An odd coincidence took place in the Course of the Day that made the Degradation of the poor Culprit more intelligible to the Populace, and more poignant to him, for in the morning a Private of the 88th had undergone the same Penalty and been drum'd out of his Regiment in as nearly the same Manner as the Nature of the two Cases could admit. The Pleasure of inflicting Pain I hope I know not. The Utility of this Example, however, I anticipate with Satisfaction, and think that the universal Approbation with which it is received affords a Prospect of good Effects. The Muster was strong, the Conduct of the Business orderly, the Corps was gratified, and the Populace, or rather let me say the Citizens, in general consider the Sentence

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[1] Richard Metcalfe, Merchant Taylor, Sheriff, 1787; Alderman, 26th August 1793; Lord Mayor, 1795. Died, 12th January 1809.

as at once useful and just. That the Subject of Disgrace and general Contempt did not himself attend I believe I need not add. Where he was I know not, nor have I yet heard in what manner he takes his Punishment. When I learn, I will tell you. I feel as if I were not yet at liberty to say I pity the unhappy Man, and yet, though all is perfectly as it should be, I feel I do. But, O Tom Dalton, what shall I say to thee, Thou, etc., etc.? Your attendance would have given, what you are formed in all Cases to diffuse, Solemnity to the day; and therefore it was that I implored your Presence so importunately as I did. However, as We can (*sic*) do nothing yesterday, when I could not produce you, I apologized for you; and really, from the Practice of so doing, I find myself growing rather adroit in the Defence of a bad Cause. Set your heart at Ease, then. Every Man of yours is convinced of your good Disposition towards them, and every Man returns it with Affection.

". . . . Remember me with Kindness to all belonging to You, and believe me, My Dear Dalton, Affectionately and faithfully yours,

"Thomas N. Dalton, Esq., "W. BURGH.
"Tanfield Hall, Ripon."

Only the names of the Grenadier Company of this Corps appear to be on record. They are as follows:

Front.	*Rear.*
Lieut. Tireman.	Sergeant Foster.
Mr. Joseph Young.	Mr. William Storry.
Mr. Thomas Woollans.	Mr. George Fowler.
Mr. John Mush.	Mr. Benjamin Boocock.
Mr. Thomas Cochran.	Mr. Thomas Beal.
Mr. William Batty.	Mr. James Milrose.
Mr. George Dodsworth.	Mr. James Curtis.
Mr. John Dales.	Mr. John Morley.
Mr. James Hilton.	Mr. Thomas Boocock.
Mr. Squire Giles.	Mr. Richard Craggs.
Mr. Richard Knowlson.	Mr. William Winn.
Mr. George Ellis.	Mr. Matthew Browne.

Front.	*Rear.*
Mr. C. Sanderson.	Mr. White Benson.
Mr. Benjamin Tansley.	Mr. Charles Benson.
Lieut. Marshall.	Sergeant Watson.

After the Treaty of 1802 the sergeants of the Corps presented Lieut.-Col. T. N. Dalton with a silver cup (York Mint mark), with this inscription:

"A Tribute of sincere regard from the Volunteer Sergeants of the York Infantry Corps to their Commandant, whose great attention shewn them during the late war merits more than this small token of their friendship. June 4th, 1802."[1]

No documentary record of the disbanding of these troops, which took place in 1815, can be found.

The house at which the hospitality of this regiment was dispensed is now numbered nine in High Petergate—Petergate House—a house possessing other interesting memories. Here Henry Swinburne died, and also Sir Thomas Herbert, Bart., the Eastern traveller, and Attendant to King Charles the First.

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[1] This cup, and a large silver soup-tureen and cover, also a commemorative medal, given by the Corps and others to Colonel Norcliffe, are in possession of his great-grandson and representative, the Rev. Charles Best Norcliffe, M.A., Langton Hall, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

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BOOTHAM BAR.

Opp. p. 251.

CHAPTER IV.

Present Aspect of the Defences.—Late Renovations.—The Walls almost Continuous.—Their Measurement.—The Bars and their comparative Dimensions.—The Posterns.

THE principal renovations which have been effected upon the walls during this period are as follows:

1. Restoration of Micklegate Bar, 1716 and 1737. The side arches were added in 1754 and 1826.

2. Inner front of Bootham Bar, rebuilt 1719.

3. Monk Bar, renovated 1825.

4. A scheme was inaugurated in 1831 for the restoration of the whole of the walls upon the west side of the city, from North Street Postern to Skeldergate Postern. The total outlay amounted to nearly £2,000.

Various minor repairs have taken place since this. Of course, these latter restorations have not been made with any purpose of defence, but simply to preserve monuments of the historic past which are invested with a boundless interest.

At the present time York presents an almost perfect example of a walled city. The defences are unbroken on the west side of the river. On the east there are only two gaps, and these are on the

foreshore of the river in each case. The wall is broken between Lendal Tower on the river-bank and Bootham Bar, and is wanting between Tower Place and the Castle, and Fishergate Postern.

There is no wall between Layerthorpe Bridge and the Red Tower on the Foss Island. Here, however, no wall was ever erected.[1] At this point the city was naturally defended by the River Foss and a great morass. The entire circuit of the walls is stated by Leland to be 2¾ miles. Joseph Raine (1665) states their extent as follows:

	Perches.
From the Red Tower to Walmgate Bar .	60
From thence to Fishergate Postern . .	99
From thence to Castlegate Postern . .	58
From thence to Skeldergate Postern . .	34
From thence to Micklegate Bar . .	136
From thence to North Street Postern . .	140
From thence to Bootham Bar . . .	86
From thence to Monk Bar . . .	116
From thence to Layerthorpe Postern . .	66
From thence to the Red Tower . .	80
	875

This total is equal to 2 miles, 5 furlongs, and 196 yards. Lockwood and Cates' estimate is slightly less, viz.: 2 miles, 5 furlongs, and 87 yards.

Leaving out the open spaces and the breadth of the river (twice), the length of the actual walls is 2 miles, 15 yards.[2]

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[1] Leland. [2] G. T. Clark, Esq.

The four principal gates or bars are standing, and are in an excellent state of preservation. The following notes will prove interesting :

Micklegate Bar.—The name is derived from *Mykill*, great; and *gata*, street. The Barbican was removed in 1826-7.[1]

Fig. 33.—MICKLEGATE BAR, WITH BARBICAN.

Monk Bar.—As already stated, this Bar is named after General Monk.[2] The Barbican was taken down in 1815. This is the loftiest of the structures, and by many is considered as the best architecturally.

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[1] In Cave's *Antiquities of York*, pub. 1813, there are drawings of these four gates, showing in each case the barbican, Plates XIII, XIV, XV, XVI.

[2] Page 200.

Bootham Bar.—Drake says that the name is derived from the booths which were erected here during the annual fair in connection with St. Mary's Abbey. The Barbican was removed in 1831.

Walmgate Bar.—The derivation of the name is doubtful. It is called by some writers Wombgate, but this is certainly an error. The word has been traced by some to Vallum (valm) gate, and by others to Watling-gate. This is the only Bar possessing at present a barbican. It was added in the reign of Edward III (1327-1377). Its modern restoration is apparent at a glance.

The following table shows the comparative dimensions of the Bars and their Barbicans:

Name.	*Gatehouse.*			*Barbican.*		
	High.	*Broad.*	*Deep.*	*High.*	*Broad.*	*Deep.*
Bootham Bar .	46 ft.	24 ft.	21 ft.	25 ft. about	27 ft.	50 ft.
Monk Bar . .	63 „	27 „	35 „	15 „	27 „	42 „
Walmgate Bar .	44 „	24 „	21 „	20 „	24 „	56 „
Micklegate Bar .	53 „	26 „	35 „	15 „	27 „	48 „

Beside these, there is Fishergate Bar. It is 29 feet high, 29 feet broad, and projects 15 feet outward. It was erected early in the fourteenth century. There were at one time several smaller gates or posterns. Only one of these is now standing—Fishergate Postern, which was repaired and roofed in 1740. The other posterns have been removed, or have been replaced by recent erections.

FISHERGATE POSTERN.

Opp. p. 254.

Mail

CHAPTER V.

The North-Eastern Military District: Military Quarters.—Mason's Buildings.—Branch War Office.—Generals in Command.—Cavalry Barracks.—Troops.—H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Avondale.—Infantry Barracks.—Troops.—The fourteenth Regimental District.—Officers Commanding.—Colonel Whitting.—Hospital.—Ordnance Stores.—Military Wharf.—Strensall Camp.—A Coincidence.—Auxiliary Forces.

WE have seen that, after the great siege, a small garrison was quartered in Clifford's Tower, and also that within a brief period this structure was destroyed—in 1684.

There can be little doubt that there were military quarters on the site of the present cavalry barracks as early as 1720, but where the garrison was resident from 1684 to 1720 seems to be an unsolved question. Certainly no authentic and easily accessible record on the matter appears to have been preserved.

It has been stated, chiefly upon the authority of William Knipe, who was a well-informed antiquary, and who died at the age of 80, nearly half a century ago, that the tenements known as Mason's Buildings, in Coppergate, were utilised by the military during the period referred to, and that they were

retained in this service until an advanced date in the last century.

The head-quarters of the North-Eastern Military District were transferred from Manchester to York in 1878.

On the road to Fulford, a suburb on the south of the city, a place which figured prominently in the affairs of the North in Saxon times, and again during the period of the great siege, there is the branch War Office and the extensive buildings of the garrison.

The branch War Office, in Fishergate, is an imposing structure in Elizabethan style. These premises were opened October 28th, 1878.

The following Generals have been in command of the district since 1859[1]:

Residence.	*Names.*	*From.*	*To.*
Manchester	Gen. Sir Harry Smith	—	30 Sept. 1859
Manchester	Lt.-Gen. Sir John Pennefather.	Oct. 1859	June 1860
Manchester	Gen. Sir Geo. Wetherall	July 1860	June 1865
Manchester	Lt.-Gen. Sir Sydney Cotton.	July 1865	Sept. 1866
Manchester	Lt.-Gen. Sir John Garvock.	Oct. 1866	Sept. 1871
Manchester	Maj.-Gen. J. Carey	Oct. 1871	June 1872
Manchester	Lt.-Gen. D. Lysons	July 1872	June 1873
Manchester	Lt.-Gen. Sir H. de Bathe	July 1873	Mar. 1878
Manchester and York.	Lt.-Gen. G. H. S. Willis[2]	April 1878	Mar. 1881
York .	Lt.-Gen. G. H. Cameron	April 1881	Mar. 1884
York .	Lt.-Gen. F. A. Willis[2]	April 1884	April 1886

[1] The Records preserved in York commence with this date.

[2] Not relatives.

Residence.	*Names.*	*From.*	*To.*
York .	Maj.-Gen. C. T. Daniell[1]	May 1886	April 1889
York .	Maj.-Gen. N. Stevenson	May 1889	Mar. 1891
York .	Maj.-Gen. C. H. Wilkinson.	April 1891	Still in command.

The Cavalry Barracks, fronting the highroad nearer to Fulford, are the oldest buildings of the garrison. They were erected in 1795-1796, at a cost of about £25,000, and occupied twelve acres of ground. These barracks, as then built, provided "accommodation for 3 field officers, 5 captains, 9 subalterns and staff, 4 quartermasters, 240 non-commissioned officers and men, and 266 horses."

At different times, chiefly in 1861, these premises have been enlarged and improved, until they now cover thirty acres of ground, and have also trebled their accommodation.

The officers' quarters—a plain suite of buildings, on which the Royal Arms are displayed, in concrete, over the entrance—are at the furthest extremity from the Fulford Road. The barrack-rooms, married quarters, riding-school, prison, and stables occupy the sides, while the orderly-room and other offices occupy a position on the front.

The following troops have been quartered in these barracks since 1859[2]:

Arrival.	*Departure.*	*Corps.*
	June 1859 ...	18th Hussars.
July 1859 ...	Oct. 1859 ...	Unoccupied.

[1] Died shortly after giving up command of the District. See chap. vi for the General's monument in the Minster.

[2] See *note*, p. 256.

Arrival.		*Departure.*		*Corps.*
Oct. 1859	...	April 1860	...	16th Lancers.
April 1860	...	Sept. 1861	...	12th Lancers.
Sept. 1861	...	April 1863	...	10th Hussars.
April 1863	...	June 1864	...	16th Lancers.
June 1864	...	May 1865	...	8th Hussars.
May 1865	...	Sept. 1865	...	Detach. 83rd Foot.
Sept. 1865	...	Oct. 1866	...	13th Hussars.
Oct. 1866	...	Dec. 1866	...	Detach. 14th Depot Battn.
Dec. 1866	...	Feb. 1867	...	Royal Artillery.
Feb. 1867	...	April 1867	...	Detach. 14th Depot Battn.
April 1867	...	Aug. 1867	...	4th Hussars.
Aug. 1867	...	April 1868	...	6th Dragoons.
April 1868	...	Aug. 1869	...	15th Hussars.
Aug. 1869	...	April 1870	...	13th Hussars.
Mar. 1870	...	May 1871	...	7th Hussars (Depot).
Mar. 1870	...	May 1871	...	3rd Hussars (Depot).
May 1871	...	Aug. 1872	...	5th Dragoon Guards.
Aug. 1872	...	July 1874	...	9th Lancers.
July 1874	...	June 1875	...	3rd Dragoon Guards.
June 1875	...	July 1876	...	1st Royal Dragoons.
July 1876	...	May 1877	...	6th Dragoon Guards.
May 1877	...	June 1881	...	Detach. 6th Brigade Depot.
June 1877	...	April 1878	...	2nd Dragoons.
Oct. 1877	...	April 1879	...	Detach. 96th Foot.
April 1878	...	Aug. 1880	...	4th Dragoon Guards.
April 1879	...	Feb. 1881	...	Detach. 1st Batt. 11th Foot.
Aug. 1880	...	Feb. 1881	...	5th Lancers.
Feb. 1881	...	June 1882	...	16th Lancers.
June 1882	...	Sept.	...	Detach. 5th Dragoon Gds.
Aug. 1882	...	1884	...	Headquarters do.
Sept. 1882	...	Oct. 1882	...	Depot 4th Dragoon Guards.
Oct. 1884	...	May 1886	...	3rd Hussars.
May 1886	...	Aug. 1886	...	Unoccupied (except by a party of Infantry from Infantry Barracks).
Sept. 1886	...	April 1888	...	9th Lancers.
April 1888	...	Aug. 1891	...	10th Hussars.
Sept. 1891	...	Still remaining	...	The 1st Royal Dragoons.

During the time the 9th Lancers and 10th Hussars were stationed here, H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Avondale resided in the barracks. The Duke of Clarence and Avondale, Earl of Athlone, His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor Christian Edward, K.G., K.P., LL.D., the eldest son of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, died at Sandringham, Thursday, January 14th, 1892, about five months after his removal from York. In no part of the Queen's dominions did the sorrowful news provoke greater consternation or deeper grief than in this city. The long and honourable connection of the Duke with the city naturally caused the concern of the citizens in the Prince's illness to be exceedingly great, and when the gravest apprehensions were realised, feelings of intensest sorrow took possession of all classes of the people.

The Duke resided here for nearly four years, and was enrolled on the Freemen's List. He always evinced a warm interest in the progress of the old city, and in the welfare of its inhabitants; and frequently expressed his attachment to the Northern Metropolis and its people.[1]

The Duke arrived at York on November 5th, 1887, and joined the 9th Lancers, stationed at Fulford Barracks, on transference from the 10th Hussars, then located at Hounslow. His Royal

[1] The following sketch is adapted from *The Yorkshire Herald* and *The Yorkshire Gazette.*

Highness seemed at once to conceive a favourable regard for the old city, for, on responding to the loyal toast at Lord Mayor Rymer's banquet, two months later, he said it afforded him very much satisfaction to be in York, not only as a soldier, but as a private individual, adding, "It is a privilege to visit so ancient and historic a city." The Duke rejoined his own regiment, the 10th Hussars, when it succeeded the 9th Lancers in the occupation of the Cavalry Barracks, Fulford, in the summer of 1888, and remained with the 10th Hussars during its long stay in York.

The Prince always recognised that he was in York as an officer of the British Army, and his devotion to his military duties was a striking feature of his career in this city. He turned out with his regiment in fair weather and foul, and his soldierly bearing as he rode or marched at the head of his troop secured the admiration of a people accustomed to displays of arms. On the 13th May 1888, he attended a united military service in York Minster, and took his place among his men, instead of aspiring to the seat which his rank entitled him to take. In the same month he evinced lively interest in the annual meeting of the Yorkshire Rifle Association at Towthorpe Common; and several times he participated in sham-fights at the northern Aldershot. On the 20th March 1889, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales visited the 10th Hussars, and reviewed the troops in garrison on the Knavesmire. On that

occasion Prince Albert Victor marched at the head of the third squadron of his regiment.

He was most popular in his regiment, and he gained favour by discriminating care for those who owed obedience to him.

When off duty, the Prince spent many an hour in furthering, by his patronage, presence, and counsel, many of the philanthropic, educational, and religious institutions of the city. On the 27th July 1888, he opened the new lock at Naburn, and on the same occasion received the freedom of the city. The grand bazaar held in the summer of 1889, on behalf of the York Soldiers' Institute, found in the Prince one eminently fitted to launch an undertaking intended to benefit the soldiers in garrison, and in camp, in and around York. On the 16th July 1890, the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, as the Prince was then known (title conferred in May), laid the memorial stone of the new Courts of Justice, Clifford Street, York. His Royal Highness also evinced a thoughtful and practical sympathy towards the Boys' Industrial School and the York Institute of Science and Art. These engagements, so faithfully and ably discharged, do not represent a tithe of the demands made upon him while resident in York. In fact, His Royal Highness never declined any invitation which he could reasonably fulfil in promoting the welfare of the city, and the public spirit which he displayed intensified the unquestioned loyalty of its inhabitants.

It has been truthfully said that the memory of the

Duke of Clarence will henceforth be cherished in York as one of its most precious possessions.

The Infantry Barracks are contiguous to the cavalry quarters, a narrow lane only running between them. These barracks were erected in 1877-1880, at a cost of £150,000, and occupy

Fig. 34.—INFANTRY BARRACKS.

about thirty-four acres of ground. These buildings embody nearly every modern improvement, and form two sides and the front of a square. The front, a most imposing piece of architecture, reminding us, as it is often remarked, of the feudal days of Old England, is utilised as an arsenal, and for offices, etc. There is accommodation here for

one commander, five field officers, fifty-four other officers, forty sergeants, ninety-two married men, 1,072 privates, and sixteen horses.

The buildings, which lie on the right on entering the barracks, are generally occupied by some battalion of regular troops.

The following troops have been quartered here since 1880:

Arrival.	*Departure.*	*Corps.*
May 1880	July 1881	1st and 2nd Batt. 25th Foot.
May 1880	July 1881	1st and 2nd Batt. 14th Foot (6th Brigade Depot).
Jan. 1881	April 1881	69th Foot.
June 1881	Still remaining	14th Regtl. District.
Feb. 1882	Sept. 1882	Detach. 2nd Dublin Fusiliers.
Sept. 1882	Sept. 1883	1st Batt. West Yorks. Regt.
Nov. 1882	Feb. 1883	Detach. 68th Regtl. District.
Sept. 1883	Oct. 1884	2nd Batt. South Yorks. Regt.
Oct. 1884	Oct. 1886	1st Batt. Gloucester Regt.
Oct. 1886	June 1887[1]	1st Batt. Leicester Regt.
June 1887	Aug. 1887	Detach. East Yorks. Regt.
Aug. 1887[2]	Sept. 1888	1st Batt. Leicester Regt.
Sept. 1888	May 1889[1]	1st Batt. York and Lanc. Regt.
July 1889[2]	Dec. 1889	1st Batt. York and Lanc. Regt.
Dec. 1889	Aug. 1891	1st Batt. West Riding Regt.
Sept. 1891	Still remaining	1st Lothian (Royal Scots).

The left-hand block is appropriated by the depot of the Fourteenth Regimental District—the West Yorkshire Regiment. The Fourteenth Foot, or the West Yorkshire Regiment, was raised in 1685, in the county of Kent, to assist in opposing the

[1] To Strensall. [2] From Strensall.

invasion of James, Duke of Monmouth, its rendezvous being Canterbury, Rochester, Chatham, Sittingbourne, and Faversham. There proved to be no immediate demand for the active services of this regiment, owing to the early suppression of the rebellion, but the force was retained in the service of the Government, and has so remained ever since.

The regiment has changed its county name several times, at the close of the last century being known as the Bedfordshire Regiment, and in the early years of the present century as the Buckinghamshire Regiment.

The eventful history and the brilliant service of the different battalions of this regiment are partly indicated by the names borne upon the colours: "Tournay," "Corunna," "Java," "Waterloo," "Bhurtpore," "Sevastopol," "New Zealand," and "Afghanistan."

The following Colonels have been in command of the 14th Regimental District in York:

	From.		*To.*
Col. Lloyd	6th May 1880	...	14th July 1880.
„ Chichester ...	15th July 1880	...	8th May 1884.
„ Phillips	9th May 1884	...	8th May 1889.
„ Whitting ...	9th May 1889	...	12th April 1891.
„ Truman ...	25th April 1891	...	Now in command.

Colonel Whitting died of pneumonia while in command of the 14th Regimental District, Sunday, April 12th, 1891.

The intelligence created a painful shock in military circles in the North-Eastern District, and,

indeed, wherever the late officer was known. Colonel Whitting had been in command of the 14th Regimental District for two years, and in that responsible position he had acquitted himself with tact and energy. He combined with devoted loyalty to his profession those qualities which will make his memory dear to those who are concerned in the moral welfare of our troops. The York Soldiers' Institute owned in him a warm friend, and his unremitting co-operation with the chaplains in their work is simply beyond all praise.

The funeral took place on Thursday (April 16th), at Shipton, and was of a private character. The troops and citizens of York were, however, enabled to express their appreciation of the deceased officer by the first part of the service being held in York Minster.

Colonel R. Whitting entered the army as ensign in the 62nd Foot (Wiltshire Regiment) on the 26th December 1856, at the age of twenty, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 8th Foot (the Liverpool Regiment) on 23rd March 1858. He attained his captaincy on the 15th January 1861, and became major on the 20th February 1874, and was adjutant of the auxiliary forces from 21st April 1876 to 6th March 1877; was gazetted lieutenant-colonel on the 7th March 1882, and was transferred to the West Yorkshire, the territorial regiment of the 14th District, on 10th June 1882, and held the command of the 1st battalion of that regiment till the 7th March 1888. He attained

the full rank of colonel on 7th March 1886, and retired on half-pay from the West Yorkshire Regiment on the date already mentioned. He commanded the regiment when it was stationed at Bradford, and also when it encamped at Strensall. Colonel Whitting served in the Indian Mutiny, 1856-1859, and was present at the operations in the Jugdespore Jungles, the campaign in Oude, and the attack and capture of Fort Scindee, for which he received a medal.

The Hospital was once attached to the Cavalry Barracks, but in recent years new hospital buildings were built on the opposite side of the road. These premises were enlarged in 1878. There is accommodation for upwards of 100 patients, a barrack-room for twenty men of the Army Hospital Corps, and every other adjunct calculated to perfect the utility of so necessary an institution.

The Ordnance Store Department is the latest addition to the York garrison. Before the rearrangement of districts the Northern Division was supplied with the materials of war, etc., from three centres—Chester, Weedon, and Tynemouth. Chester now supplies the North-Western District, Weedon the Eastern, and York the North-Eastern, whilst the Ordnance Department at Tynemouth is given up.

The Ordnance Stores at York lie near the hospital.

A few years ago the Corporation of York undertook an improvement of the River Ouse by

constructing a new lock at Naburn (about six miles from the city), of larger dimensions than the old one, and deepening the river in shallow places, so as to enable sea-going vessels of about 300 or 400 tons burden to get up to York. The War Department, availing themselves of this improved lock, have constructed a jetty, or landing-place, with craneage power, at the end of the New Walk, which abuts upon the property of the War Department, to enable them to land stores from vessels sent direct from Woolwich to the barracks at Fulford. This ought to prove a great convenience to the Department, especially as it is understood the Corporation propose to still further improve the navigation.

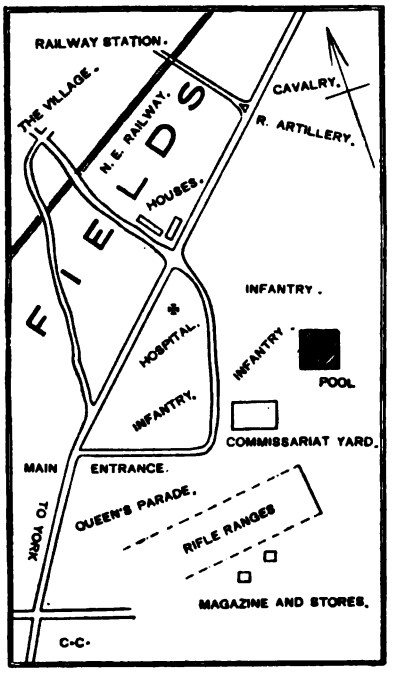

Fig. 35.—SKETCH OF STRENSALL CAMP.

In addition to the garrison at York, there is, near to the village of Strensall, seven miles north of the city, an immense summer camp. Strensall Common comprises about 1,600 acres, and was purchased by the Government a little over

twelve years ago for about £16,000. A few years ago this large tract of land was a moor, used as a stray for cattle and sheep, and was the resort of wild fowl, etc. To-day, by draining, the erection of huts, and the annual training of thousands of men, it promises to develop into a northern Aldershot.

Among the fatalities which have occurred at this camp (happily, there have not been many), there are three which combine to form a most singular coincidence. On the 21st of June 1889, a young private was shot, by accident, in one of the huts. On the 21st of June 1890, a sergeant was shot when signalling at the butts. The 21st of June, in the following year (1891), fell upon a Sunday, and men were heard repeatedly congratulating each other that the day could not easily prove a fatal one, as there was no firing going on. But before the day closed the camp was thrown into a state of consternation by the announcement that a man, who had only enlisted a few weeks before, had been accidentally drowned. This coincidence was rendered all the more strange by the fact that each man belonged to the same religious denomination, and to that denomination which was, at the time of each fatality, the weakest in camp in point of numbers.

Besides the Militia, there are other auxiliary forces which have their head-quarters in York. They are as follows:—

The Yorkshire Hussars came into existence in the reign of George II, 1793. The regiment

consists of eight troops, and each troop of fifty men.

The York Rifle Volunteers were formed in 1859, and became affiliated with five other corps, those raised in Harrogate, Knaresborough, Ripon, Tadcaster, and Selby. These incorporated corps formed the 1st Volunteer Battalion of the West Yorkshire Regiment.

The 1st East Riding of Yorkshire Artillery Volunteers, which consists of two batteries, dates from 1861.

Particulars as to the head-quarters, etc., of these corps may be obtained from any of the handbooks or guides to the city.

CHAPTER VI.

Monumental and other Trophies: The Minster.—Church of St. Dennis.—Guildhall.—The Guns at Blue Bridge.

AMONG the memorials of the dead in York Minster not a few are inscribed to the memory of gallant soldiers.

These monuments are to be found almost entirely in the south aisle.

The following regiments are represented :—

INFANTRY :

1. The 19th Regiment: Yorkshire (1st York, North Riding[1]). A monumental brass to the officers and men who fell in the Russian War from 1854 to 1855.

2. The 33rd Regiment: West Riding (The Duke of Wellington's Regiment). A monument to Col. F. R. Blake, C.B., the officers, non-commissioned officers, and also five hundred and thirty-five men who fell on the field of battle, or died from the effects of wounds received, or of sickness contracted in the service of their country during the war with Russia from 1854 to 1856.

---

[1] The old titles are put in brackets.

3. The 33rd Regiment: West Riding (The Duke of Wellington's Regiment). A marble monument to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and one hundred and ninety-one men who died serving in India, 1857-1867; and also to Colonel A. R. Dunn, V.C., two other officers, and five men who died during the Abyssinian campaign from 1867 to 1868.

4. The 51st Regiment: South Yorkshire (The King's Own Light Infantry: the 2nd Regiment of the West Riding of York). A monument to the officers and three hundred and three non-commissioned officers and private soldiers who fell in Burmah from 1852 to 1853.

5. The 65th Regiment: York and Lancaster, 1st Battalion (2nd Yorks, North Riding). A monumental brass to the officers and men who fell in:

(*a*) New Zealand from 1845 to 1866.

(*b*) India from 1871 to 1884.

(*c*) Soudan, 1884; El Teb, Feb. 29th; Tamai, March 13th.

(*d*) Also to several officers who died at home and abroad.

The record closes with the words: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the Crown of Life."

6. The 84th Regiment: York and Lancaster, 2nd Battalion. A monument to thirteen officers and three hundred and sixty men, who fell in the service of their country during the mutiny and rebellion in India from 1857 to 1859.

7. The old colours of the York and Lancaster Regiment hang here; four colours of the 65th Regiment (the 1st Battalion), and eight colours of the 84th Regiment (the 2nd Battalion).

An interesting ceremony, associated with the last added of these colours, was witnessed at York Minster after the morning service on August 10th, 1891, when the tattered colours of the 2nd Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment (the old 84th) were committed to the keeping of the Dean.

The colours were replaced during the early part of the year (1891) by a new set, presented to the battalion by Prince George of Wales immediately before its departure from Barbadoes for South Africa. The old colours were subsequently conveyed home from Africa by Colonel Luck, who has lately relinquished the command of the battalion, and were brought to York by that officer for presentation to the Minster, where three sets of colours borne by the regiment already hung from the walls of the south choir aisle.

Colonel Luck was joined at the Station Hotel by several brother officers, and by a number of the old members of the corps from the depot at Pontefract. The 1st Battalion West Riding Regiment furnished a guard of honour of a hundred men, together with the band, to escort the colours from the Station Hotel to the Minster. On arriving at the west front they were met by Major-General Wilkinson, the officer commanding the North-Eastern District, who decorated the standards with wreaths of laurel.

The guard of honour presented arms, and the band played the National Anthem. Meanwhile the Dean and other clergy, with the Minster choir, were waiting at the west entrance, and they formed themselves in processional order at the head of the military, and moved to the south choir, singing the hymn commencing, "We march, we march to victory."

Amongst the officers in attendance were Colonel Wilson, 3rd Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment, Colonel Truman, Major McGregor, and Captain Birkbeck (the General's aide-de-camp). There was a considerable gathering of the general public in the nave, including many tourists and visitors to the city, all of whom watched the unwonted spectacle with great interest.

A short service, specially arranged for the occasion, was gone through in the south choir aisle, the Dean officiating. The colours were handed to Dr. Purey-Cust by Colonel Luck, who accompanied the presentation with a few remarks suitable to the occasion. The Dean, in receiving the colours, offered one or two words of acknowledgment, and the ceremony closed with the hymn, "Forward be our watchword," and the pronunciation of the blessing, followed by the National Anthem.

The colours, which have been hung immediately over the entrance to Archbishop Zouche's Chapel beside the other old colours of the regiment, present a very battered appearance, but this is due to length of service rather than to the casualties of war.

They were presented to the battalion at Aldershot as long ago as 1861, and were carried through the Egyptian campaign in 1882 and 1884.

CAVALRY :·

The 6th Inniskilling Dragoons. A monument to the Lieutenant-Colonel, non-commissioned officers, and men who perished in the burning of the *Europa* troopship, 1854.

There are also separate monuments to several officers.

1. One of these is in the north aisle, and reads thus :

"To the memory of Pelsant Reeves, of Arborfield, in the County of Berks, Esq., Captain in the 1st (or Royal) Regiment. He fell in the battle of Toulon, 30th of Nov. 1793, in the 29th year of his age. His Brother, George Dawson, inscribed this."

2. Major C. E. T. Oldfield, of the 5th Bengal Light Cavalry, died April 16th, 1850.

3. Lieutenant Henry Lees, of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, killed by a fall from his horse, September 30th, 1876.

4. Major B. W. C. Firman, of the 1st Battalion West Yorkshire Regiment, died July 25th, 1886.

5. One of the most beautiful and chaste objects in the Minster is a tribute to the memory of the late General Daniell, comprising the carved oaken doors leading to the vestry, and the sculptured stonework above them. The stonework, which is

an apex, supported on each side by an angelic figure, bears the inscription:

"To the Glory of God, and in loving memory of Charles Frederick Torrens Daniell, Lieut.-General, C.B., General commanding the Northern District, 1886-1889. Born August 21, 1827. Died July 26, 1889. This tablet, erected in the church of their marriage, records the deep and lasting affection of a daughter and son-in-law—C. and C. G. S. A good soldier of Jesus Christ.'

The doors also bear appropriate words from the Holy Scriptures. On the left-hand side there is the martial address of Paul to Timothy, "Fight the good fight of Faith," and on the right-hand side the concluding part of the verse, "Lay hold on Eternal Life."

This tribute, so appropriate in its conception and so beautiful in its execution, perpetuating the memory of one who was beloved among all classes during his residence in the city, ought to be viewed by all visiting the Minster.

6. There is also a most interesting monument in the form of an altar-tomb of the seventeenth century. At the battle of Marston Moor there was a Royalist standard-bearer named John Dolben, who was wounded by a bullet. This ensign afterwards became Archbishop of York. His tomb is near the entrance to the crypt in the south aisle.

A few relics of a military character are preserved in the vestry of the Minster.

There are three spears and a bayonet-shaped pike-head, which are said to have been recovered from the battle-field at Marston.

Against the wall on the right, entering the vestry, there hangs an old helmet. This piece of armour was dug out of the nave when the floor of that part of the Minster was relaid in 1736.

There is also a rude stone cannon-shot exhibited in a small glass case, with other relics of a different character, but with quite as doubtful a history.

Soldiers have been interred in many of the churchyards in York, but principally in that of St. Dennis, Walmgate. These interments at the latter church took place chiefly during the last century. Probably St. Dennis became associated with the barracks in this way. Originally there was a very old parish without Fishergate Bar, which embraced within its boundaries the area now covered by the barracks. This parish became united to the parish of St. George, within Fishergate Bar, and then, in 1585 (Edward VI), the parish of St. George became united with that of St. Dennis. Under this arrangement it would appear that the clergyman at St. Dennis took the position of chaplain to the Forces. The graveyard presents no special testimony to this fact now; but the military entries in the old Parish Burial and Baptism Registers are very frequent. Among the regiments named in these entries are "General Bland's Regiment", "General Barrel's Regiment of Foot", "General Robert Rich's Regiment of Dragoons", The North Yorkshire Militia, The Queen's Regiment of Dragoon Guards, The 3rd Regiment of Dragoons, The 6th Inniskilling

Regiment of Dragoons, and the 18th Light Dragoons.

There is a relic of the 51st Regiment (South Yorkshire) in the Guildhall. At the storming and capture of Rangoon, Burmah, in 1852, the 51st Regiment took possession of a large bell, which was afterwards presented to this city. It is valued at

Fig. 36.— CONFLUENCE OF THE OUSE AND FOSS.

nearly £3,000, weighing 6 cwts., and being composed very largely (75 per cent.) of silver.

The history of the muskets which are displayed in the Guildhall has already been given *in extenso* in Chapter I of this period.

The only trophy of war displayed in public in

York is to be found on the New Walk, a deservedly popular resort and promenade on the south of the city.

On each bank of the Foss, at its confluence with the Ouse, there is a large cannon planted. These guns were taken from Sebastopol in 1855. On the inside face of each gun-carriage there is the following inscription :—

"To Commemorate
the victories of the allied armies and perpetuate
the memory of those
Brave men, connected with this city and neighbourhood, who fell
During the Russian War.
These guns captured at the fall of Sebastopol and presented
to the city of York by Her Majesty's Government in the Mayoralty of
Edward Richard Anderson, Esquire,
Were placed in their present position, 1858.
The Rt. Hon. John Wood, Lord Mayor."

On the outer face of the carriage of the gun, on the left bank of the stream, there is the following :—

"Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and
Privates,
From York and the neighbourhood,
Who fell during the War in the Crimea:
Captain Henry Frederick Ramsden : Coldstream Guards.
Assistant Surgeon Henry Beckwith : 49th Regiment.
Corporal William Swann: 10th Company Sappers and Miners.
Pte. Henry Hope : 3rd Btn. Grenadier Guards.
Pte. John Hope : 3rd Btn. Grenadier Guards.
Pte. Harbourne Lane : 1st Btn. Coldstream Guards.
Pte. Charles Prince : 7th Regiment."

On the outer face of the carriage of the gun, on the right bank of the stream, there is the following :—

"Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and
Privates,
From York and the neighbourhood,
Who fell during the war in the Crimea :
Lieut. George Hague : 57th Regiment.
Corporal James Nicholson : 34th Regiment.
Pte. William Plummer : 1st Btn. Grenadier Guards.
Private John Archer : Gunner 5th Bat. Royal Artillery.
Pte. Henry Richardson : 30th Regiment.
Pte. Denis Richard Smith : 28th Regiment.
Pte. Robert Smith : 33rd Regiment."

Under the muzzle of each gun there is also an inscription, but the names are almost duplicates of those already given.

The only additional names are :

Private Henry Stephenson : 10th Company Sappers and Miners.
Private Gideon Petilla : 2nd Rifle Brigade 60th Regiment.

Before being placed in their present position the guns were paraded about the city. They serve a useful purpose in preserving the names of the men, associated with the neighbourhood, who bravely fell at the post of duty.

"Sleep, soldiers ! still in honoured rest,
Your truth and valour wearing ;
The bravest are the tenderest !
The loving are the daring !"[1]

INDEX.

A.

Abbey of St. Mary, 39, *note*
Acaster, Malbis, 33; Selby, 33
Address of the gentry of York to King Charles, 144; of King Charles to the freeholders of Yorkshire, 149; of the freeholders of Yorkshire to King Charles, 151; of the freeholders of Yorkshire to the Parliament, 152
Agricola, Julius, founds Eburacum, 1, 2, 18
Alan the spurrier, 139
Aldborough, Isurium, 1
Altar, Roman, to Neptune, 23; for achievements in the North, 26
Amboglanna, Birdoswald, 26
Archers, success at Towton, 121; public butts in York, 122
Arms supplied by the city, 1745, 209; supplied by the Ainsty 1745, 218; purchased from Birmingham, 225
Arrow, ancient, found at York, 122; arrows for Flodden, 130
Aske, Robert, Esq., leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, 134
Athelstan, King, destroys the Danish castle, 37; founds the Hospital of St. Leonard, 122
Auxiliary forces, 268, 269
Avitus Didius Gallus, 1

B.

Baile Hill, 55, 61, 89
Ballie, Lieut.-General, 169
Bars of York:
  Bootham, 2, 158, 251, 254
  Micklegate, 87, 90, 117, 136, 141, 175, 192, 251, 253
  Monk, 2, 125-126, 164, 200, 251, 253
  Walmgate, 158, 196, 254
  Fishergate, 129, 133
  Dimensions of the Bars, 254
Battles:
  Fulford, 43
  Stamford Bridge, 40-52
  The Standard, 66-74
  Myton, 98-101
  Neville's Cross, 105-107
  Wakefield Green, 115
  Towton, 116
  Barnet, 123
  Bosworth, 127
  Flodden Field, 130
  Marston Moor, 166-187
  Sedgemoor, 202
  Culloden, 233
Bedern, 9, 10
Bellona, temple of, 14
Berwick, pacification of, 142
Beverley, 64
Bishopthorpe, 110
Blackburn, Lieutenant, execution of, 198, 199
Boadicea, 17
Boroughbridge, 1, 162
Bowet, Henry, Archbishop, his armoury, 114
Bridge over Ouse for war purposes, 164, 166
Brigantia, 1
Britons, Strabo's account of, 2

Bruce, Dr. Collingwood, 26
Buckingham, the Duke of, rebellion of, 126
Burlington, Earl of, 97

C.

Caerleon, in Wales, 31
Calcaria, Tadcaster, 10
Camulodunum, Colchester, 17
Cannon, at the confluence of the Ouse and Foss, 277
Caracalla and Geta, 13
Castle at York, Danish, 37; Norman, 53; a second Norman castle, 54; destruction of the Norman garrisons, 63
Castle at York, tower on the Baile Hill restored, 89
Castle Mills, York, 79, 93
Cavalry barracks, description, 257; troops stationed there, 257, 258
Cavalry, two typical officers, 170
Cawood Castle, 114
Chambre, John à, 132
Charles I, 141,; visits to York, 141, 142; visits Hull and is refused admission, 145; complains to Parliament, 145
Chesters, Little, 31
Chronicle, Anglo-Saxon, 44, 45, 67
Churches:
St. Clement, Fosgate, eighty Lincolnshire archers buried 103
St. Crux, 135
St. Dennis, 195; soldiers buried there, 276
St. Lawrence, 159
St. Michael, 139
St. Nicholas, 159, 196
St. Olave, 160, 195
St. Sampson, 195
St. Wilfrid, 100
Clarence, H.R.H. the Duke of, 259
Clarendon, Earl of, his opinion of Newcastle and Rupert, 176
Claudius, Emperor, 17
Clavering, Colonel, 176
Clifford's Tower, 55, 56-61; small garrison after the siege, 196; blown up, 201
Clifton Fields, 142
Colours, dedication of, 245; committed to the keeping of the Dean, 272
Coney Street, York, 2, 80, 139-140
Constantine the Great, 15
Constantius I, 9, 14
Constable, Sir William, 189
Copeland, Sir John, 106
Cordwainers' Company, 112
Cornwall, Sir John, marries sister of Edward I, 113
Cottage, gamekeeper's, 180
Crawford, Major-General, 169
Cromwell, Oliver, before York, 158; wounded, 172; his success at Marston Moor, 174; his letter *re* young Walton, 178; visits York, 199
Cumberland, Duke of, 233
Cumberland, Henry, Earl of, 155

D.

Dacres, Sir Francis, 175
Dalton, Captain Thomas Norcliffe, 243
David I, King of Scotland, invades England, 68
David II, King of Scotland, invades England, 105; taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, 106
Davy Hall, 156
Deanery, the, 143
Defence of York in the great siege, 156
De Foe, remarks on Prince Rupert, 165
Derwent, river, 10
Devonshire, Earl of, 117
Digby, Simon, executed, 135
Dion Cassius, on Severus, 13
District, North Eastern Military, 255-269; 14th Regimental, 263
Douglas, Robert, chaplain to Scottish troops, 193
Douglas, Sir James, 102
Drumming out, two cases, 248
Durham, monks of, at battle of Neville's Cross, 107

E.

Eburacum, its extent, 2; trace of its walls, 3, 4; the Prætorium

3; the gates of, 4; becomes a city, 9; the Prætorian Palace, 9, 10; the roads from, 10; neighbouring camps, 32-33; destruction of, 35
Edward the Confessor, death of, 42
Edward I, defences in the reign of, 89
Edward II, mandamus of, 89
Edward III, his order to repair the fortifications, 90; married to Philippa of Hainault, 104
Edward IV recognises the fidelity and sufferings of the citizens, 120; see *March*
Edwin, King of Northumbria, 36
Egremont, Sir John, 132
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 134
Emperors:
Resident in Eburacum, 12
Hadrian, 12
Severus, 12
Constantius Chlorus, 14
Constantine the Great, 15
Eroc, a German king, in Britain, 15

F.

Fairfax, Lord Ferdinand, 156
Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 151, 172
Fever during the great siege, 161
FitzRichard, Robert, 54
FitzOsbern, William, 55
Fleming, Nicholas de, Lord Mayor of York, killed at battle of Myton, 100
Food, price of, during the great siege, 161
Fortifications of York, see *Walls*, *Bars*
Foss, the river, 11
Fourteenth Regimental District, 263; officers in command, 264
Frizle, Colonel, 169
Fulford, 43, 256
Fulthorpe, Sir Thomas, condemns Archbishop Scrope, 110
Fulthorpe, John, 135

G.

Galtres, Forest of, 164
Gascoigne, Chief Justice, 110
Gate, Decuman, of Eburacum, 4; Prætorian, 4
Gates of York, see *Bars*
Generals in command N.E. District, 256
George II, 202; celebration of H.M. birthday in York, 1745, 224
Ghent, Gilbert of, 54, 63
Gillygate, 159
Glemham, Sir Thomas, Governor of York, 155, 191-192, *note*
Godram, or Guthrum, 36
Goodramgate, 36
Goring, General, 168, 176
Greenfield, Archbishop of York, friend of the Templars, 93
Guildhall military relics, 277

H.

Hadrian, 12; a great builder, 25
Hainault, Lord John Beaumont of, at York with troops, 102
Harold, King of England, 42
Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, 42
Hay, John, Lord Mayor, 243
Head, Duke of York's, 116; Earl of Northumberland's, 135
Heads, Scotch rebels', 234
Helena, 14
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 155
Henry I, 66
Henry II, 84
Henry III, tax granted for the repair of the walls, 87
Henry IV, 108
Henry V, 138
Henry VI, victorious at Wakefield Green, 115
Henry VII, 128
Henry VIII, 129, 130
Herodian, on Severus, 13
Hessay Moor, 163
Heworth Moor, 148
Hildyard, John, 205
Hill, Sir William, 117
Hob Moor, 97
Honorius, 30
Hospital, Military, 266
Hospital of St. Leonard, 122
Hotham, Sir John, refuses King Charles admission to Hull, 145

Hotham, John de, Bishop of Ely, 98
House, old, on Marston Moor, 177
Hull, 142 ; King Charles goes to, 144
Humby, Lord, 189

I.

Infantry barracks, description of, 262 ; troops stationed there, 263
Ingram, Sir Arthur, 148
Ironsides, 174
Isurium, Aldborough, 10, 32

J.

James II, 201
James IV, King of Scotland, killed at Flodden Field, 130
Jews, massacre of, in York, 85
John the spurrier, 139
Judges' lodgings, Lendal, 100

K.

Kerry, Lord, 175
King, General (Lord Eythin), 168
Kirkhammerton, 175
Knaresborough, 162
Knights of St. John, 94
Knights Templar, the, their origin, 76 ; possessions in York, 79 ; their suppression, 91-97 ; confined in York Castle, 92 ; an effigy formerly in the Minster, 96 ; an effigy formerly on Hob Moor, 97
Knipe, William, 255
Kyme, Earl of, 117

L.

Lambert, Colonel, 189
Lamplough, Sir John, executed at York, 111
Lampton, Sir William, 175
Legion, how composed, 16
Legions, Roman, in garrison at York, 16 ; the Second, 31 ; the Sixth, 23-30; the Ninth, Preface, xi, 17-22; the Fourteenth, 17; the Twentieth, 26; other troops, 31
Leslie, Alexander, Earl of Leven, before York, 158 ; at Marston Moor, 169 ; his flight, 173, 179
Leslie, David, General, 169
Letters :
  Oliver Cromwell, 178
  Captain Dalton, 244
  Dr. Burgh, 248
Limbricke, Sir Richard, 116
Lucas, Sir Charles, 168, 176
Luguvallium, Carlisle, 26

M.

Malcolm, King of Scotland, 84
Mallet, William, 53
Malton, 32
Manchester, Earl of, 158
Manor, King's, occupied by King Charles, 141
March, Earl of (son of Richard, Duke of York), victorious at Towton, 116
March, the Duke of York's, 237
Margaret, Queen of England, 116
Market Cross, Thursday, used as a main guard, 220, 221
Marston Moor, battle of, 166-187 ; anecdotes of, 177-182 ; official account of, 183-187 ; decided the possession of York and the fate of the King, 188 ; thanksgiving for, facsimile of Parliamentary order, 187 ; Rapin's opinion of, 167
Mary, Queen of Scots, 134
Marygate, 159
Marygate Tower blown up, 159 ; loss of documents, 160
Masons' buildings, 255
Melton, William, Archbishop of York, at the battle of Myton, 98 ; reconstructs tower on the Baile Hill, 89
Merchants' Hall, 156
Minster, 96, 103, 195
Monckton, Sir Philip, 200, *note*
Monk, General, enters York, 200
Montague, Colonel, 189
Monumental and other trophies, 270
Monumental stones to a standard-bearer of the Ninth Legion, 21 ; erected by soldiers of the Sixth

Legion, 27, 28; to a centurion of the Sixth Legion, 29
Morkar (Morkere), 41
Morris, Colonel, execution of, 198, 199
Mowbray, Roger de, 73, 79
Mowbray, Lord, executed at York, 111
Multangular Tower, 5; the interior, 7

N.

Napoleon, saying of, 99; designs on England, 243
National Covenant, 141
Nevill, Sir John, 134
Newcastle, Earl of, 155, 162, 176
"Newcastle's Lambs", 168, 174
Nidd, river, 164
Northallerton, Battle of the Standard, 71, 74
Northumberland, see *Percy*
Nottingham, King Charles sets up his standard there, 154

O.

Officers memorialised by monumental stones, etc.:
Reeves, Captain, 274
Oldfield, Major, 274
Lees, Lieutenant, 274
Firman, Major, 274
Daniell, General, 274, 275
Dolben, John, 275
Ordnance Store Department, 266
Organisation, military, Saxon, 35; Norman, 64, 65; cavalry *v.* infantry, 121; in the time of Richard II, 201; Royal Horse Guards, 202; Coldstream Guards, 202; the York Blues, 203-236; the Independents, 228; Militia, 238; Volunteer troops, 1782, 242; Volunteer troops, 1793, 243
Ostorius Scapula, 1

P.

Papinian, Roman lawyer, 10
Percy, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, wounded at Towton, 118; buried at church of St. Dennis, 118; the tomb, 119; his palace at York, 118
Percy, Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, beheaded, 135
Petergate, 2
Petergate, High, house in, 250
Petilius Cerialis, 1, 17
Philippa, Queen of England, 105
Plumpton, Sir William, executed at York, 111
Pontefract Castle used for fire signals, 162; surprised, 198
Poppleton, 164
Porter, Major-General, 168, 176
Postern, Castlegate, 201
Postern, Fishergate, 129, 254
Prætorium, in York, 3
Press, printing, set up in St. William's College, 147
Press-gang in York, 240
Prisoners brought to York during the civil war, 156
Publications during the civil war, 158

R.

Randall de Glanville, Sheriff of Yorkshire, 86
Randolph, Thomas, Earl of Murray, 98, 102
Rebellions under the Tudors, 132-136
Red Tower, 131, 217
Regiments represented by monuments, etc.: 19th, 270; 33rd, 270, 271; 51st, 271; 65th, 271; 84th, 271, 272; 6th Inniskilling Dragoons, 274
Restoration, the, 200
Riccall, 42
Richard I, 85
Richard II, 107, *note*
Richard III rescinds the toll of Henry III, 124; his repair of the fortifications, 125
Richard, Duke of York, slain at Wakefield Green, 115
Richard, Earl of Salisbury, 116
Riots, military, 103, 104, 238
Ripon, treaty of, 143
Rockett, Rev. Dudley, M.A., 245

Roman, altar, 24, 26; generals, 1; inscribed slab, 19; martial statue, 31; monumental stones, 21, 27, 28, 29
Romans, the, leave Britain, 30
Rupert, Prince, in Hull, 146; sent to relieve York, 162; resolves to fight, 164; his part in the battle of Marston Moor, 170, *note;* asks for Cromwell, 171
Russian War, soldiers of York and neighbourhood who were killed, 278, 279
Rutland, Earl of, son of Richard Duke of York, 116

S.

Scrope, Richard, Archbishop, his rebellion, 109-110; his execution, 111; popular enthusiasm, 112; his altar-tomb, 112; indulgence cup, 112
Severus, 10, 12
Shakespeare, quotations from, 38, 40, 75, 110, 116, 117
Simnel, Lambert, 128, 132
Siward, Earl of Northumbria, 38-39
Slingsby, Sir Charles, 175
Spurriergate, 137-140
Spurs, Ripon, 139
St. Anthony, Hall of, 140, 194
St. Clement, Nunnery of, 221
St. William's Chapel, 235, *note*
St. William's College, printing presses set up there, 147
Stamford Bridge, relics of the battle, 50; spear-pie, 51; Danes' Well, 51; Battle Flats, 52
Standing army, 201, 202, see *Organisation, Military*
Stephen, King, 68
Strensall Camp, description, 267; fatalities, 268
Strickland, Sir Robert, 148
Stuart, Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, 203
Suetonius Paulinus, 17
Surrey, Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of the North, 130

T.

Tacitus, 18, 19
Temple Fields, Copmanthorpe, 79, 93
Templars, see *Knights Templar*
Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 68
Tockwith, village of, 166, 169
Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, outlawed, 41; slain at Stamford Bridge, 49
Tournament in York, 113
Townley, Charles, Esq., killed at Marston, 181
Trades, military, in York, 137

V.

Valentinian III, 30

W.

Wall added to Abbey of St. Mary, 88; remains of this wall, 88
Walls of York, Danish foundations, 37; in Norman times, 82-83; Henry III grants tolls for repair of, 87; rebuilt about 1280, 89; Leland's description of, 129; repaired after the siege, 196, 201; present aspect of defences, 251; restoration of wall on the west side, 251; the extent of the walls, 252
Waltheof, 63
Walton, Cromwell's nephew, killed, 178
War Office, branch, 256
Warwick, the Earl of, Kingmaker, 122
Warwick, Simon de, Abbot of St. Mary's, 39 *note*, 88
Wellington, Duke of, a saying of, 117
Wentworth, Sir William, 175
Wharf, military, 267
Whitting, Colonel, 265
William the Conqueror master of York, 54; his revenge, 63
William, King of Scotland, his surrender at York Minster, 85
William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, 86
William, Prince of Orange, 201

Windows in the Guildhall, 15, 73, 101
Wirtenburg, Duke of, in York with an army, 201
Wood, Wilstrop, 177

Y.

York, capital of Britain, Preface, x; Guildhall of, 194; Mansion House of, 241; Mayors of, 101, 243, 248, 260; siege of, 155-161; Surrender of, 189-194; injury caused by the siege, 195, 196; present aspect of the defences, 251-254

Z.

Zouche, William la, Archbishop, at battle of Neville's Cross, 105; chapel in the Minster, 107

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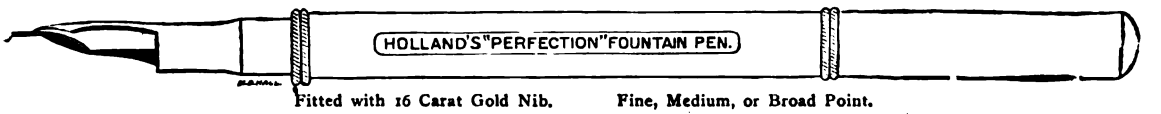

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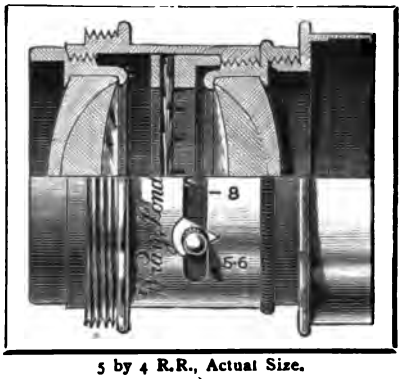

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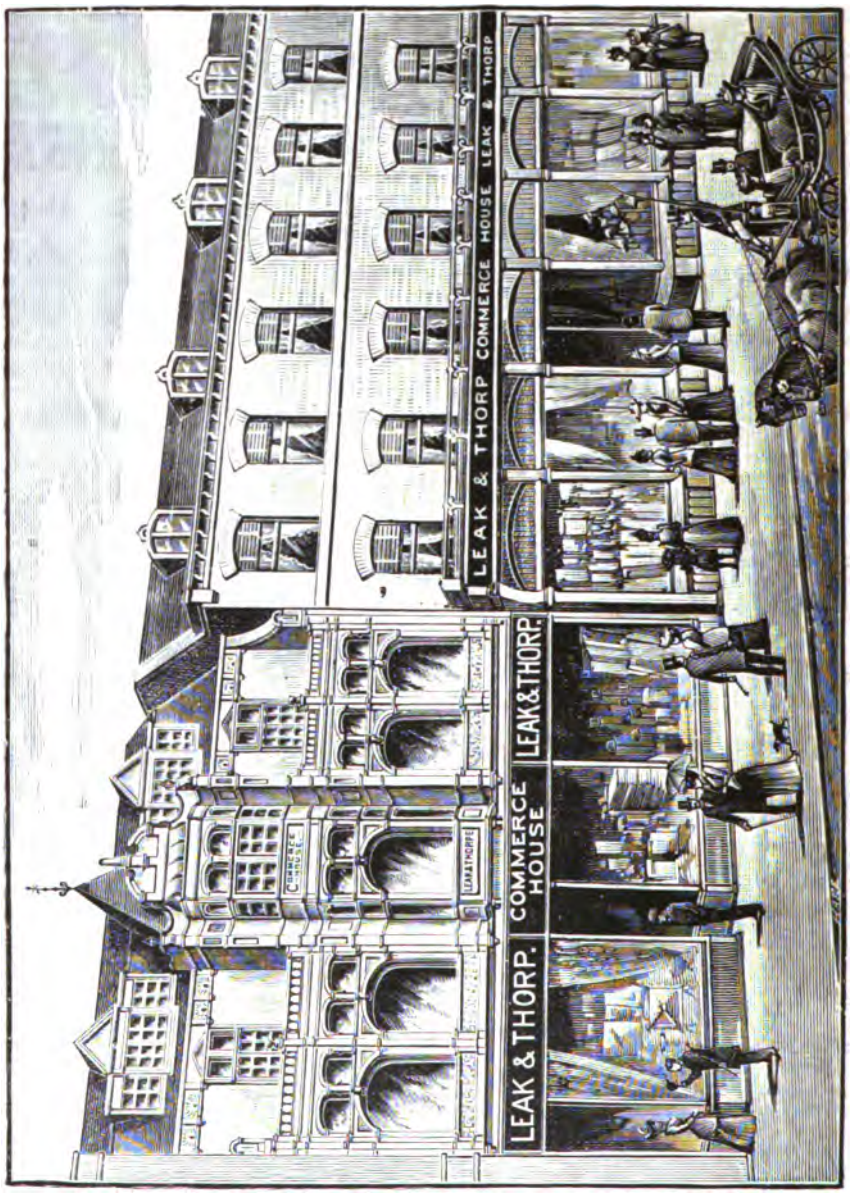

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